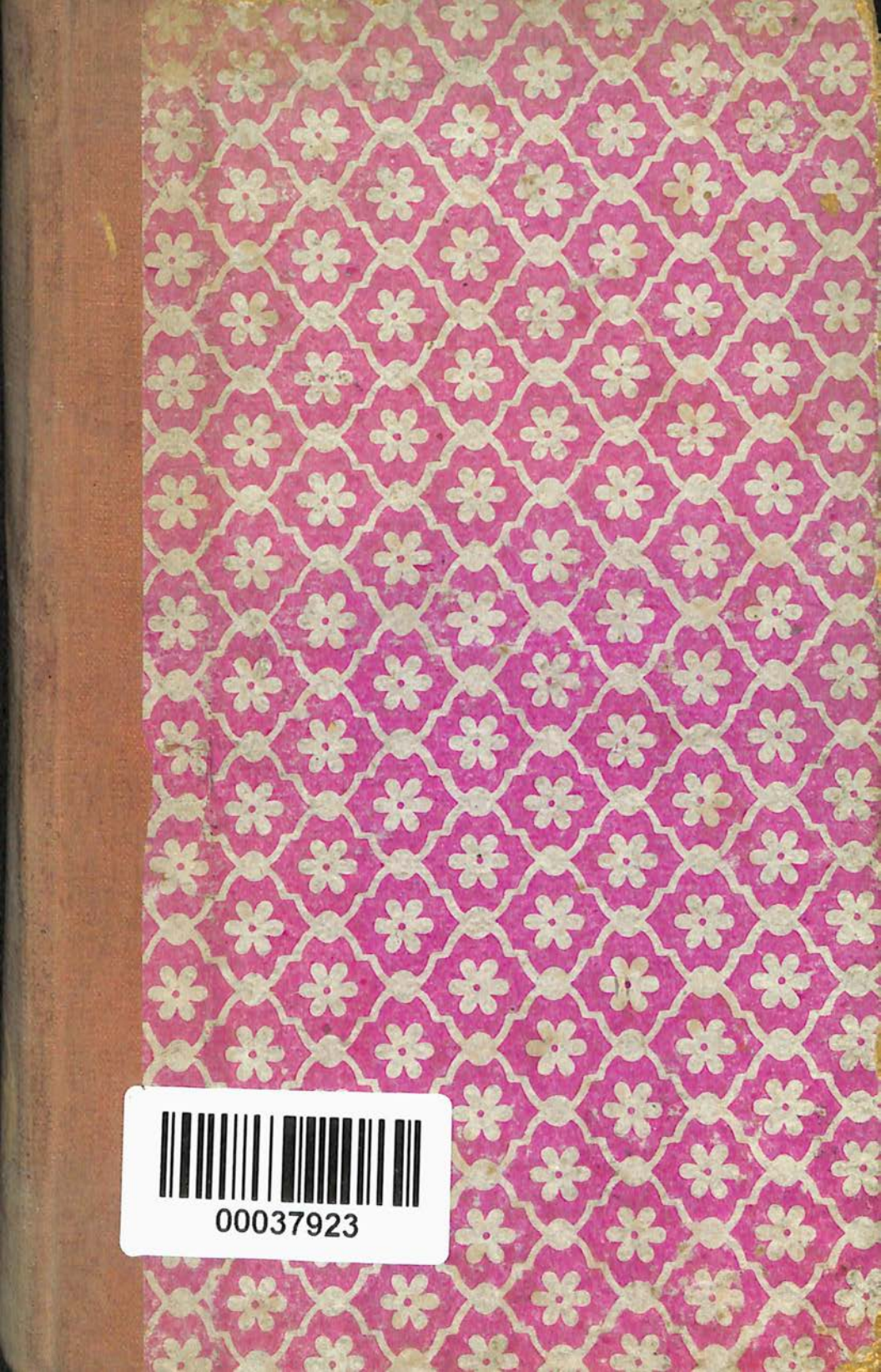
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THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE

FIRST INVASION OF IT BY THE ROMANS UNDER JULIUS CÆSAR,

37923
ac

WRITTEN ON A NEW PLAN.

By ROBERT HENRY, D.D.

ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH, MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIANS OF SCOTLAND, AND OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH.

THE FOURTH EDITION.

VOLUME THE ELEVENTH.

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by Robert He

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Author of this Work, who died in 1790, left ſome part of the Volumes which are now offered to the Public unfiniſhed; for Chapter V. on *Arts*, and Chapter VII. on *Manners*, &c. he had only ſketched out a few of the authorities, and no part of the narrative was written by him: Thoſe two Chapters are entirely the work of MALCOLM LAING Eſquire, who has finiſhed them at the requeſt of Dr. Henry's Executors. The whole of the Appendix is alſo Mr. Laing's; but the reader may be aſſured, that every other part of the volumes was completed by Dr. Henry himſelf, and is faithfully publiſhed from his manuſcript.

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37923

TO

THE MEMORY

OF

WILLIAM Earl of MANSFIELD,

&c. &c.

THESE POSTHUMOUS VOLUMES

OF

THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

ARE RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY DR. *HENRY*'S EXECUTORS,

H. MONCREIFF WELLWOOD,
WM BALDERSTONE,
WM FINLAY.

☞ Dr. HENRY was always proud of the friendſhip with which the late EARL of MANSFIELD had honoured him; and it was the wiſh of his heart that the laſt part of his literary labours ſhould be introduced to the world under his Lordſhip's patronage.

The death of that Nobleman has deprived the following Volumes of this Advantage. But the Executors of Dr. HENRY are perſuaded that they could not better fulfil the intention of the Author, than by inſcribing this Work to the MEMORY of the EARL of MANSFIELD.

Dr. HENRY's friends have the ſatisfaction to believe, that a man whom his Lordſhip eſteemed as an Author, cannot be ſoon forgotten; poſterity will know that the Hiſtory of Great Britain written by Dr. Henry was encouraged and protected by one of the wiſeſt and greateſt men of his time, whoſe old age was as venerable, as his active life was meritorious and diſtinguiſhed.

LONDON, 22d *April* 1793.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I. PART I.

The Civil and Military Hiſtory of Britain, from the Acceſſion of Henry VII. A. D. 1485, to the Death of Henry VIII. A. D. 1547.

SECTION I.

The civil and military hiſtory of England, from the acceſſion of Henry VII. A. D. 1485, *to the acceſſion of* Henry VIII. A. D. 1509.

THE victory gained at Boſworth, by Henry earl of Richmond over Richard III. was deciſive, and produced the moſt important conſequences. The victorious chieftain was proclaimed king by his army on the field of battle; a crown A.D.1485. Acceſſion of Henry VII.

A.D.1485. of ornament, which Richard had worn in the action, was placed upon his head, and from that moment he aſſumed the name, ſtate, and authority of king of England.

Defects of Henry's title.

The title of Henry VII. (as he muſt now be called) to the crown which he thus aſſumed, was quite inexplicable. The hereditary right or title to that crown was evidently in the houſe of York, of which there were ſeveral princes and princeſſes then alive in England [1]. Henry had even no title to the hereditary rights, or rather pretenſions, of the houſe of Lancaſter to the crown. He was deſcended, indeed, from one of the natural ſons of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter, and the natural children of that prince had been legitimated: but in the very act of their legitimation, they and their poſterity were declared to be incapable of inheriting the crown [2]. To a parliamentary right he could not then pretend; for he ſtood attainted as a traitor by an act of parliament [3]. One victory of one Engliſh army over another Engliſh army, could not be called a conqueſt of England; and Henry's little army, though victorious, had certainly no right to change the eſtabliſhed laws of ſucceſſion, and to chooſe a king, contrary to thoſe laws, for a great and powerful kingdom. But notwithſtanding all theſe defects in his title, of which he could not be ignorant, Henry acted in all reſpects, from the day of his victory, as if it had been perfectly clear, and liable to no objections.

[1] Sandford's Genealogical Hiſtory. [2] Rym. Fœd. tom. vii. p. 849.
[3] Statutes.

The

The firſt act of Henry's government was equally unjuſt and cruel. On the day after the battle of Boſworth, he ſent ſir Robert Willoughby to ſheriff Hoton in Yorkſhire, with a commiſſion to ſeize Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, (the only ſon of George duke of Clarence, by the eldeſt daughter of the great earl of Warwick,) and conduct him to the Tower of London. This young prince, without being accuſed, or even ſuſpected of any crime, was kept a priſoner, from his infancy to his death, by the jealouſy of two ſucceſſive tyrants [4]. So little were the feelings of humanity, and the moſt eſſential rules of juſtice, regarded, in thoſe unhappy times. A.D.1485. Earl of Warwick impriſoned.

Henry having refreſhed his troops a few days at Leiceſter, conducted them towards the capital, and was every where received with the loudeſt acclamations; which were, in general, ſincere expreſſions of joy at his acceſſion. The Lancaſtrian party had long fixed their eyes upon him as their head, and the only perſon of his family who was capable of aſſerting its pretenſions to the crown. The Yorkiſts, knowing his engagements to marry the princeſs Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of Edward IV. rejoiced in his ſucceſs, hoping that their union would put an end to thoſe civil wars which had raged ſo long with ſuch deſtructive violence. The remaining partiſans of the late king were quite diſpirited, and conſulted their ſafety by their ſilence and retirement. Joy at Henry's acceſſion.

4 Hall, Hen. VII. f. 1. Bacon's Hiſt. Hen. VII. p. 6. Polydore Virgil, p. 565.

A.D.1485. Enters London.

When the victorious prince and army approached London, the citizens went out in crowds to meet and welcome their new monarch. But on this occaſion Henry diſcovered his reſerved and haughty diſpoſition, by entering the city in a cloſe litter, and depriving the people of the ſatisfaction of ſeeing his perſon, which gave a check to their joy. He proceeded directly to St. Paul's, where he depoſited the ſtandards taken at Boſworth, and returned thanks to God for his victory [5].

Promiſes to marry the lady Elizabeth.

Though Henry was inflamed with the moſt violent hatred to the rival family of York, by which he had been long and cruelly perſecuted, he was ſenſible he could not retain the poſſeſſion of the crown without forming an alliance with that family. He made haſte, therefore, in the preſence of an aſſembly of the principal clergy and nobility, to renew his promiſe to marry the princeſs Elizabeth [6]. But he determined not to perform that promiſe, till he was firmly ſeated on the throne, and had his own right to the crown recogniſed by parliament; that he might not ſeem to derive his title from the princeſs, or depend upon her life for the duration of his authority.

Coronation.

As the ſweating ſickneſs raged in London at this time, he was forced to defer his coronation till the 20th October, when it was performed with the uſual pomp and ceremonies. On that occaſion Jaſper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, the king's uncle, was created duke of Bedford; Thomas lord Stan-

5 Bacon, p. 7, 8. 6 Id. ibid.

ley

ley was made earl of Derby; and Edward Courteney, earl of Devonſhire [7]. A.D.1485.

When the parliament met at Weſtminſter, November 7th, it was found, that many of the members of the houſe of commons were attainted for treaſon in the two laſt reigns, by acts of parliament yet unrepealed. This occaſioned no little perplexity and heſitation; as theſe members were the moſt zealous partiſans of the houſe of Lancaſter; and the judges were required to give their opinion on this caſe, ſo new and ſingular. Theſe ſages of the law, after mature deliberation, gave it as their opinion and advice, "That the attainted members "ſhould not take their ſeats till their attainders "were reverſed." This prudent opinion was adopted, and the attainders of one hundred and ſeven gentlemen were reverſed [8]. Parliament.

The parliament then proceeded to the great buſineſs for which it had been called, the ſettlement of the crown. The king expreſſed his claims to the crown in a few words, by ſaying, he had a juſt title to it by hereditary right, and by victory over his enemies. But, that he might not alarm the parliament and people by the claim of conqueſt, he added, that he did not intend to deprive any perſon of his inheritance. The parliament, without conſidering theſe claims, which were ill-founded, but attending only to his preſent poſſeſſion of the crown, which was undeniable, enacted, "That the inheritance of the crown of this Settlement of the crown.

7 Bacon, p. 9. 8 Records of Parliament, 1 Hen. VII.

A.D. 1485. "realm of England, and alſo of France, ſhall reſt, "remain, and abide in the moſt royal perſon of "our now ſovereign lord king Henry the Seventh, "and in the heirs of his body lawfully coming, "perpetually, with the grace of God, ſo to en-"dure, and in none other[9]." It is remarkable, that the princeſs Elizabeth, undoubted heireſs of the houſe of York, and conſequently of the crown of England, is not once mentioned in this act of ſettlement, and that the laſt words of it ſeem to have been inſerted to cut off her claim. This was owing to the jealous and haughty ſpirit of Henry, and his hatred to the houſe of York, and muſt have been very offenſive to the friends of that houſe.

Acts of parliament.

The parliament then, by one act, ſecured indemnity to thoſe who had fought under the earl of Richmond at the battle of Boſworth; and by another, attainted the duke of Norfolk, and thirty other lords and gentlemen who had fought under king Richard at that battle[10]. The laſt of theſe acts was certainly unjuſt and cruel. It could not be high treaſon in theſe lords and gentlemen to fight under the banner of a prince to whom they and the whole kingdom had ſworn fealty, againſt the earl of Richmond, who did not ſo much as pretend to be king, and who was at that time an attainted outlaw. Accordingly, we are told by a contemporary hiſtorian, that this act met with great oppoſition, and occaſioned long and warm debates

9 Record of Parliament. Hall, Hen. VII. f. 3.

10 Statutes, 1 Hen. VII.

in

in parliament; and that hiſtorian, though he evi- A.D.1485.
dently writes under great reſtraint and terror, breaks out into this pathetic exclamation: "O God! "what ſecurity can princes have, that their ſub- "jects will defend their perſons in the day of bat- "tle; when being forced there, perhaps, by their "abſolute commands and threats, the ſide they "fight for, as is often the caſe, being worſted, "they find their own lives and fortunes involved "in the common ruin [11]."

Though the Yorkiſts were numerous in this Addreſs.
parliament, and diſliked this ſeverity, which fell only on their friends and party, many of them concealed their thoughts, in hopes that the marriage of the king with the princeſs Elizabeth would extinguiſh his hatred to the friends of her family, and put an end to the calamities of their country. They had influence to procure an addreſs from the parliament to the king, to haſten the concluſion of that marriage [12].

Henry, finding that he had puſhed his reſent- Pardon.
ment againſt thoſe who had oppoſed him rather too far, thought it prudent to publiſh a free pardon to all his ſubjects, who ſignified their ſubmiſſion to his government, by taking the oath of fealty. On this, many who had eſpouſed the cauſe of the late king, iſſued from their ſanctuaries and hiding-places, and took the benefit of that pardon. At the ſame time he reſtored Edward Staffford, the eldeſt ſon of the late Henry duke of

[11] Continuat. Hiſt. Croiland, p. 581. [12] Idem.

A.D.1485. Buckingham, to the honours and princely fortune of his family[13].

A.D. 1486. Henry's marriage.

Though Henry was not an impatient lover, he was a quick-ſighted politician; and perceiving that the delay of his marriage was one of the chief ſources of the doubts and fears of his ſubjects, he determined to remove that cauſe of their diſguſt. This long expected marriage was accordingly celebrated, January the 18th, A. D. 1486, with royal pomp. The rejoicings on this occaſion, in London, Weſtminſter, and other places, were exceſſive, far ſuperior to thoſe at the king's acceſſion and coronation. Henry did not reliſh theſe rejoicings; on the contrary, they gave great diſguſt to his jealous and ſullen ſpirit: as they convinced him, that the houſe of York was ſtill the favourite of the people, and that his young and beautiful conſort poſſeſſed a greater ſhare of their affections than himſelf. This, it is ſaid, deprived her of the affections of her huſband, who treated her unkindly during her life [14].

External peace.

England was not at war with any other nation at the acceſſion of Henry VII.; and it was one of the firſt cares of that ſagacious prince, to ſecure the continuance of this external peace, ſo neceſſary to one in his circumſtances. With this view he prolonged the truce with France, and ſpared no pains to prevent diſputes with Scotland, and to unite the royal families by intermarriages [15].

[13] Bacon, p. 14, 15. [14] Ibid. p. 16.

[15] Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 281. See vol. v. of this work, p. 309, 310.

Henry

Henry now enjoying peace abroad, and tranquillity at home, ſet out on a progreſs into the north, where he knew the people had been more generally attached to the late king and to the houſe of York, than in any other part of England. When he was celebrating the feaſt of Eaſter at Lincoln, he was informed that the lord Lovet, with Humphrey and Thomas Stafford, had left the ſanctuary at Colcheſter, which did not ſeem to give him much concern, and he proceeded to York. There he received more certain and more alarming intelligence; that the lord Lovet was advacing towards York at the head of four thouſand men, and that the two Staffords with an army were beſieging Worceſter. The king was not inſenſible of his danger, but without betraying any ſymptoms of fear, he prepared for his defence; and having collected about three thouſand men, he gave the command of them to his uncle Jaſper duke of Bedford, with directions to march boldly towards the enemy; and when he approached them, to proclaim a full and free pardon to all who would lay down their arms. Lord Lovet, dreading the effect of this proclamation, fled in the night; and his followers, ſeeing themſelves without a leader, accepted of the offered pardon. The army before Worceſter, hearing of the diſperſion of their confederates, diſbanded; and the two Staffords took ſanctuary in the church of Cobham near Abingdon. But as that obſcure church had not the privilege of protecting traitors from juſtice, they were taken from thence, and Humphrey, the eldeſt brother, was

A.D 1486. Inſurrection ſuppreſſed.

A.D. 1486. was executed, and the other pardoned [16]. Thus ended an inſurrection, which, under more able leaders, might have been very dangerous.

Prince Arthur born.

Soon after Henry returned to London from the north, he deigned to pay a viſit to his queen at Wincheſter, who was there prematurely delivered of a ſon, September 20th. The young prince was named Arthur, in honour of the renowned Britiſh prince of that name, from whom the king pretended to derive his deſcent, by his grandfather Owen Tudor [17].

Henry's hatred to the Yorkiſts, and its effects.

Though the late inſurrection had been ſo eaſily ſuppreſſed, the ſpirit of diſcontent and animoſity againſt the king, that had excited it, ſtill continued, and daily increaſed. This ſpirit was raiſed and inflamed by Henry's inveterate hatred to the houſe of York and all its partiſans, of which he had given early, and continued to give daily, proofs. To this they imputed his procuring the parliamentary ſettlement of the crown upon himſelf and his heirs, without any mention of the princeſs Elizabeth; his delaying ſo long to marry that princeſs; his harſh treatment of her after marriage; his denying her the honour of being crowned, which had never been denied to any queen-conſort; his frowning upon all the friends of the family of York, and refuſing them every favour. This conduct was the more irritating to the Yorkiſts, that they had expected, and thought they had merited, a very different treatment, as they had

[16] Hall, f. 4. Bacon, p. 17, 18. [17] Hall, f. 5.

con-

contributed ſo much to his elevation to the throne. In a word, the whole York party was ripe for rebellion, and wanted only a proper head to have renewed all the horrors of the civil wars. Such a head was ſo earneſtly deſired, that it was reported, and generally believed by thoſe who wiſhed it to be true, that Richard duke of York, the youngeſt ſon of Edward IV. was ſtill alive, and would ſoon appear to aſſert his right to the crown; which gave occaſion to the myſterious tranſaction I am now to relate, but which will never be perfectly underſtood. A.D 1486.

Richard Simon, a prieſt reſiding in Oxford, had a pupil under his care, named Lambert Simnel, the natural ſon of a baker. This youth was about fifteen years of age, acute, ſenſible, and ſagacious; handſome in his perſon, graceful in his deportment, and every way qualified to perſonate Richard duke of York, whoſe appearance was earneſtly deſired and generally expected. To fit him for doing this, his preceptor gave him his beſt inſtructions. But whether this ſcheme was formed by the prieſt himſelf, or contrived by ſome perſon of higher rank and greater conſequence, cannot be diſcovered, though the laſt ſeems to be moſt probable. While Simon was inſtructing his pupil how to perſonate the duke of York, a report was propagated, and generally believed, that Edward earl of Warwick had made his eſcape from the Tower of London, and would ſoon emerge into public view. This determined Simon, or thoſe who conducted this plot, to change their plan, and to make Simnel perſonate the earl of Warwick. A.D. 1487. Lambert Simnel.

A.D. 1487. No ſcheme could be more unfeaſible than this, or more unlikely to ſucceed. The perſon and family of Simnel were known to thouſands in and about Oxford. The perſon of the earl of Warwick was ſtill better known; he was alive, in the poſſeſſion of the king, and ready to be produced, to confound the impoſtor, and undeceive the people. Whoever were the managers of this ſcheme, they were ſenſible of this difficulty; and they reſolved to begin their operations in Ireland, where neither the earl nor Simnel were perſonally known, and where the people of all ranks hated Henry, and were devoted to the houſe of York. With this view Simon and his pupil removed of themſelves, or were conducted by others, into Ireland.

Removed to Ireland.

Henry had been ſo much engaged in England ſince his acceſſion, that he had almoſt totally neglected Ireland, and ſuffered thoſe who had been inveſted with power in that iſland by the two late kings of the houſe of York, to retain their places. Thomas Fitzgerald earl Kildare, a zealous Yorkiſt, was lord deputy, his brother lord chancellor, and almoſt all the biſhops had been promoted by Edward or Richard. It is highly probable too, that the lord deputy, and perhaps ſome others, had been let into the ſecret of this deſign by the promoters of it in England, and inſtructed how to act. However that may be, Simon and his pupil met with a moſt favourable reception in Ireland. The citizens of Dublin expreſſed great joy on their arrival in that city, and Simnel was univerſally believed to be the real earl of Warwick. The

Proclaimed king.

lord

lord deputy, (obſerving that the ſentiments and diſpoſitions of the people coincided with his own inclinations,) after converſing with Simnel, and aſking him ſome queſtions about the manner of his eſcape, declared himſelf fully convinced that he was Edward Plantagenet, only ſon of George duke of Clarence. The example of the deputy was followed by many other perſons of rank. Simnel was conducted with great pomp from his lodgings in the city to the caſtle of Dublin, where he was attended as a prince, and ſoon after proclaimed king of England and lord of Ireland, by the name of Edward VI. with all the uſual ſolemnities. A.D. 1487.

Henry was greatly alarmed at the news of this ſudden and ſurpriſing revolution in Ireland. His apprehenſions were increaſed when he heard that John earl of Lincoln, a brave and active nobleman, ſon to Elizabeth ducheſs of Suffolk, eldeſt ſiſter to the two late kings, had left the kingdom, and was gone to the court of his aunt, Margaret ducheſs dowager of Burgundy, his moſt inveterate and moſt formidable enemy. This convinced Henry that the plot now diſcloſed in Ireland had been formed in England, and would be ſupported by the earl of Lincoln, the ducheſs of Burgundy, and perhaps many others. Henry alarmed.

Henry, on this occaſion, exerted his uſual activity to prepare for his defence, and to diſcover the authors and favourers of this plot. With this view he held a council at Shene, with his moſt confidential friends. At the breaking up of this council an unexpected ſcene was opened. The queen- Queen-dowager confined.

A.D. 1487. queen-dowager, was apprehended and conducted to the nunnery of Bermondſey, and all her eſtates and effects of every kind confiſcated. The reaſon aſſigned for this ſevere treatment of ſo near a relation was, that ſhe had left the ſanctuary at Weſtminſter, and put her daughters into the hands of the late king; a crime, if it was a crime, of a very old date, and ſuppoſed to have been long ago forgiven. But the real reaſon, as it was univerſally believed, was that Henry had diſcovered that ſhe was concerned in the preſent plot to dethrone him: and when we conſider the reſtleſs intriguing ſpirit of the queen, and her hatred for Henry, for excluding her from all power, and for his harſh treatment of her daughter and the friends of her family, this will not appear improbable. Her ſon, the marquis of Dorſet, was committed to the Tower, to prevent the effects of his reſentment, for the confinement of his mother [18].

Earl of Warwick exhibited in London.

The next ſtep taken by Henry to defeat the deſigns of his enemies was leſs violent and more effectual. He cauſed the real earl of Warwick to be carried in proceſſion through the principal ſtreets of London, permitting all who pleaſed, to approach his perſon and enter into converſation with him; after which he was conducted to St. Paul's, where the nobility and perſons of rank were introduced to him, and invited to aſk him ſuch queſtions as they thought proper, for their entire ſatisfaction. This contributed very much to keep the people of England quiet, and to prevent

[18] Polydore Virgil, p. 571. Bacon, p. 25.

their

their promoting what they were convinced was an A.D. 1487.
impoſition. It had little or no effect upon the Iriſh, who boldly affirmed, that the perſon exhibited by Henry was an impoſtor, and that they were in poſſeſſion of the true Plantagenet [19].

When the earl of Lincoln arrived at Bruſſels, and applied to Margaret ducheſs of Burgundy, he found her as forward to promote any ſcheme for dethroning Henry as he could deſire. She accordingly furniſhed him and the lord Lovel, (who had taken ſhelter in her court,) with two thouſand German ſoldiers, commanded by Martin Swartz, a brave experienced officer; and with ſhipping to tranſport them to Ireland, where they landed March 19th, A. D. 1487. This reinforcement inſpired the Iriſh with ſo much confidence, that they prepared for the coronation of their pretended king; and all things being provided, Lambert Simnel was crowned (with a crown taken from an image of the Virgin Mary) by the archbiſhops of Armagh and Dublin, aſſiſted by other prelates and nobles, in the cathedral of Dublin [20]: a very extraordinary honour for the natural ſon of an obſcure mechanic! But this was the age of ſurpriſing revolutions. Simnel crowned.

The Iriſh, knowing that their own country could not long ſupport a court and army, and hoping to enrich themſelves with the ſpoils of England, determined to make that country the ſeat

[19] Polydore Virgil, p. 571. Bacon, p. 25.

[20] Hall, f. 9. Polydore Virgil, p. 572. Bacon, p. 31, &c. Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 332.

of

A.D.1487. of the war. They embarked with their auxiliaries, and landed at the Pyle of Foudray in Lancaſhire, June 4th; where they were joined by ſir Thomas Broughton, a gentleman of conſiderable influence in thoſe parts. Being now about 8000 ſtrong, they advanced into Yorkſhire, expecting great reinforcements in that country: but in this they were diſappointed; the people, diſliking the Iriſh, and convinced that the pretended Edward VI. was an impoſtor, remained quiet.

Battle of Stoke. In the mean time Henry had not been idle. He publiſhed a general pardon to all who had engaged in this rebellion, upon their ſubmiſſion; he guarded the ports with great care; ſent ſpies into Ireland and Flanders; ſtationed couriers on the ſea coaſt to bring him intelligence; viſited the ſhrines of the moſt celebrated ſaints to implore their protection; and provided an army to encounter his enemies. As ſoon as Henry heard of their landing and the rout they had taken, he marched towards them with great diligence; and the two armies met on a plain at the village of Stoke near Newark, where a bloody battle was fought, June 16th, A. D. 1487. The leaders of the invaders expecting no mercy if they were taken, determined to conquer or die, and inſpired their followers with the ſame reſolution. The battle raged with uncommon fury no leſs than three hours, when the Iriſh, being deſtitute of defenſive armour, and no longer able to reſiſt the Engliſh archers, began to fly, and the king obtained a complete victory, at the expence of about 2000 of his

his beſt troops. Of the Iriſh and Germans about 4000, with the earl of Lincoln, lord Lovel, ſir Thomas Broughton, Martin Swartz, and all their other leaders, fell in the action, or in the purſuit [21]. Lambert Simnel and his preceptor, Richard Simon, were taken, and met with more merciful treatment than they had reaſon to expect. The prieſt was impriſoned for life; Simnel was firſt employed in the loweſt offices about the king's kitchen, and afterwards made one of his falconers [22]. It is in vain to gueſs at the motives to this lenity; they will never be known. A.D. 1487.

Delinquents puniſhed.

Henry ſpent the remainder of the ſummer in the north, making the moſt diligent inquiries after all who had aided the late invaders, or who had expreſſed any wiſhes for their ſucceſs. Few of the delinquents were put to death, but many of them were ſeverely fined; and the king, on this occaſion, diſcovered to the world that avarice was his ruling paſſion.

Speech to parliament.

Having reduced the country to order, he returned to the capital; finding it neceſſary to pay attention to the ſtate of affairs on the continent: and that he might be enabled to do this with effect, he called a parliament, which met at Weſtminſter, November 9th, A. D. 1487. Morton, archbiſhop of Canterbury and chancellor of England, informed the two houſes of the reaſons which had determined the king to call this parliament. "The "cauſes," ſaid he, "of your preſent aſſembling

[21] Hall, f. 10. Bacon, p. 35. [22] Hall, ibid.

A.D. 1487. " are two: the one a foreign buſineſs; the other,
" matter of government at home. 1. The French
" king (as no doubt you have heard) maketh, at
" this preſent, hot war on the duke of Britaine.
" His army is now before Nants, and holdeth it
" ſtraitly beſieged, being the principal city in
" ſtrength and wealth of that duchy. You may
" gueſs at his hopes, by his attempting the hardeſt
" part of the work firſt. The cauſe of this war
" he knoweth beſt. He allegeth the entertaining
" and ſuccouring of the duke of Orleans, and
" ſome other French lords, whom the king taketh
" for his enemies. Others divine of other matters.
" Both parties have, by their ambaſſadors, divers
" times prayed the king's aids; the French king's
" aids or neutrality; the Brittons' aids ſimply; for
" ſo their caſe requireth. The king, as a Chriſ-
" tian prince, and bleſſed ſon of holy church, hath
" offered himſelf as mediator to treat a peace be-
" tween them. The French king yieldeth to
" treat, but will not ſtay the proſecution of the
" war. The Brittons, that deſire peace moſt,
" hearken to it leaſt, not upon confidence or ſtiff-
" neſs, but upon diſtruſt of true meaning, ſeeing
" the war goes on. So as the king, after as much
" care and pains to effect a peace as ever he took
" in any buſineſs, not being able to remove the
" proſecution on the one ſide, nor the diſtruſt on
" the other, cauſed by that proſecution, hath let fall
" the treaty; not repenting of it, but deſpairing
" of it now, as not likely to ſucceed. Therefore,
" by this narrative you now underſtand the ſtate

" of

"of the queſtion, whereupon the king prayeth A.D.1487.
"your advice; which is no other, but whether he
"ſhall enter into an auxiliary and defenſive war
"for the Brittons againſt France [23]." This ſpeech produced the deſired effect. The parliament granted the king a liberal ſupply, and adviſed him to enter into the war [24].

The queen crowned.

Henry was not ignorant that many of his ſubjects, particularly the numerous friends of the houſe of York, were greatly offended at his unkind contemptuous treatment of his queen, in delaying her coronation ſo long; and therefore, to avoid the effects of their reſentment, he at length conſented to it: and that ceremony was performed, November 25th, A. D. 1487. About the ſame time he reſtored the marquis of Dorſet, the queen's uterine brother, to his liberty [25].

A.D.1488. Earl of Northumberland killed.

Though the ſupplies for the war in Brittany had been cheerfully granted by parliament, they were not ſo cheerfully paid. The people in the counties of York and Durham oppoſed the collectors; and the earl of Northumberland found it neceſſary to acquaint the king with their oppoſition, and deſire directions how to proceed. Having received poſitive commands from court, to cauſe the tax to be levied with the greateſt ſtrictneſs, he communicated theſe commands to a meeting of the gentlemen of the county of York, in a tone, it is ſaid, rather too imperious. When the people were informed of this, they became furious and ungo-

23 Bacon, p. 51, &c. 24 Parliament. Hiſt. vol. xi. p. 419.
25 Bacon, p. 38.

A.D.1488. vernable; broke into the earl's houſe, and put him and ſeveral of his ſervants to death. Hitherto this mob had been conducted by one of their own number, called John a Chambre; but ſir John Egermond now placed himſelf at their head, and declared open war againſt Henry, as a tyrant and uſurper. As ſoon as the king received intelligence of this inſurrection, he diſpatched a body of troops, commanded by Thomas Howard earl of Surry, to meet the inſurgents, who diſperſed them without much difficulty. Sir John Egermond eſcaped to Flanders, but John a Chambre and twelve of the ringleaders of this mob were hanged at York, and the tax was levied without any further oppoſition[26].

Truce with France.

Henry was far more active in collecting the ſupplies granted by the late parliament, than in applying them to the purpoſe for which they were given. Reſolved, if poſſible, to keep the money in his own coffers, he ſent ambaſſadors to the king of France, March 17th, A. D. 1488, to negotiate, as he pretended, a peace between that king and the duke of Brittany, which he had told his parliament he knew to be in vain. The real buſineſs of theſe ambaſſadors was of a very different nature; and they actually concluded a truce between England and France, to continue to the 17th January, A. D. 1489, leaving the unhappy Brittons (who are not once mentioned in the treaty) a prey to their too powerful enemies[27]. What could be

[26] Hall, f. 16.

[27] Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 337. 344.

more

more baſe and diſhonourable than this tranſaction; more unjuſt to his own ſubjects; or more cruel and ungrateful to the duke of Brittany, by whom he had been ſo long protected and ſupported in his exile [28]. A.D. 1488.

The duke was now in great diſtreſs, with a powerful enemy in the heart of his dominions; but he had ſtill many brave captains and loyal ſubjects, who reſolved to make one great effort to ſave their prince and country. A conſiderable army was raiſed, and marched toward the enemy. The two armies met July 28th, A. D. 1488, near St. Aubin, where a battle was fought, in which the Brittons were defeated with great ſlaughter. Edward lord Woodville, brother to the queen-dowager of England, (who had raiſed 400 men, and carried them into Brittany,) fell in this fatal action, with almoſt all his followers [29]. Battle of St. Aubin.

By this defeat the affairs of the duke being almoſt quite deſperate, he humbly ſupplicated the king of France for peace; which that prince granted, not from generoſity or compaſſion, but from the fear of rouſing the king of England, whoſe intereſt it was to ſupport the duke, and whoſe ſubjects ardently deſired a war with France. By this peace, concluded in Auguſt, it was ſtipulated, that Charles ſhould retain all the towns and forts he had taken, and withdraw the reſt of his army out of the country; which laſt article he eluded. Peace between France and Brittany.

[28] Bacon, the great hiſtorian of this reign, knew nothing of this infamous treaty.

[29] Hall, f. 15. Bacon, p. 62.

A.D.1488. Francis II. duke of Brittany died September the 9th, a few days after the concluſion of this peace; leaving the princeſs Anne, his daughter, in her thirteenth year, heireſs of his dominions and diſtreſſes.

Henry's policy. It would be tedious to conduct the reader through all the intricate mazes of Henry's policy on this occaſion. He certainly acted with much art and little honeſty; but, unfortunately for him, his antagoniſts were more artful and no honeſter than himſelf. The ends at which he aimed were theſe; to keep his money; to avoid war; and yet to preſerve Brittany from being annexed to France. All this he hoped to accompliſh by his ſuperior cunning. As ſoon as he heard of the death of duke Francis, he affected to feel the moſt tender concern for his daughter in her diſtreſs; he was loud and vehement in his declarations, that he would defend her and her dominions with all his power; and he ſent embaſſies with much parade into Flanders, Spain, Portugal, Denmark, and even Italy, to make the French believe he was forming a powerful confederacy againſt them for the defence of Brittany [30]. But the French miniſters were too well acquainted with Henry's real character, to be either deceived or intimidated by theſe appearances.

A.D.1489. A treaty. That the Brittons might not quite deſpair of ever receiving any aſſiſtance from England, and that the French might be induced to believe that he was now at laſt in earneſt, Henry concluded a

[30] Rym. Fœd. p. 348.——389.

treaty

treaty with the ducheſs Anne at Redon, February 10th, A. D. 1489, in which he engaged to ſend her an army of ſix thouſand archers, to remain in Brittany from the time of their landing to the 1ſt of November in the ſame year. But how cruel were the conditions on which this aid was granted? The moſt ample ſecurity was demanded and given, by delivering certain ſtrong towns into the king's hands, for the repayment of every farthing expended in raiſing, tranſporting, paying, and maintaining theſe troops, till they were ſafely relanded in England, though he had actually received from his own ſubjects the ſupplies granted by parliament for the perfomance of this very ſervice. But, which is ſtill more extraordinary, in this treaty Henry reſerved to himſelf the power of obſerving his truce with France, which rendered theſe expenſive auxiliaries in a great meaſure uſeleſs. In a word, the moſt griping uſurer could not have made a harder bargain with his moſt neceſſitous debtor, than this great king made with the diſtreſſed princeſs, to whom he pretended to be a father and protector [31]. A.D. 1489.

The Engliſh auxiliaries landed in Brittany in March, where they remained in great tranquillity till November, when they all returned to England, except five hundred left to guard the cautionary towns. The French obſerved the truce with great ſtrictneſs, to deprive the Engliſh of any pretence for breaking it, and the campaign paſſed without Engliſh auxiliaries in Brittany.

[31] Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 364—369.

A.D. 1489. any action [32]. In the mean time, the unfortunate Brittons were the only ſufferers, and actually ſuffered more from the protecting, than from the invading army.

Marriage. Duke Francis had begun to negotiate the marriage of his eldeſt daughter with Maximilian king of the Romans, from whom he expected aſſiſtance. Theſe negotiations were now brought to a concluſion, and they were married in November this year by proxy, with this uncommon ceremony: the prince of Naſſau, Maximilian's proxy, put his naked leg into the bed where the young ducheſs was laid; as a kind of conſummation of the marriage. This tranſaction was kept a profound ſecret a conſiderable time.

A.D. 1490. Treaty. As the ducheſs Anne could not expect any preſent aid from Maximilian, whoſe affairs were much embroiled, ſhe was obliged to have recourſe again to the king of England; and gave a commiſſion, 15th February 1490, to her chancellor, and ſeveral others, to negotiate with that prince for further aid. In that commiſſion, ſhe gave Henry many fair words, and conſtantly called him her lord and father [33]. But all this, and every thing the commiſſioners could ſay, made no impreſſion on Henry. Inſtead of obtaining aſſurances of further aids, (except in words,) he made them agree to a very diſadvantageous treaty, containing additional ſecurities for the repayment of the mo-

[32] The hiſtorians, who knew not of the truce, ſay, there were ſome ſkirmiſhes, but theſe were probably only tilts or tournaments.

[33] Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 387.

ney

ney expended on the late auxiliaries, and of his other expences in the affairs of Brittany; acting uniformly more like a covetous uſurer than a great prince[34]. A.D.1490.

This year was almoſt wholly ſpent in negotiating various treaties with different princes and ſtates, on commercial and other ſubjects. In the treaties with the king of the Romans and the king and queen of Spain, it was agreed, that the three contracting parties ſhould declare war againſt king Charles, and invade France, for the recovery of their own rights and the rights of their allies, and particularly of Anne ducheſs of Brittany. As Henry's chief object in making theſe treaties was to intimidate the French, and to pleaſe his own ſubjects, who ardently deſired to defend Brittany, he took care to make them as public as poſſible, by cauſing them to be proclaimed in all the towns in every county of England, and to be communicated to the court of France by his ambaſſadors[35]. Henry threatens war.

Though the French miniſters did not yet believe that Henry really intended war, they were deſirous of diſcovering, if poſſible, what he did intend; and with this view they ſent a ſplendid embaſſy to London. Henry gave a commiſſion to his great confident, biſhop Fox, the earl of Ormond, and the prior of Canterbury, to treat with theſe ambaſſadors[36]. At their firſt meeting, Gaguien, prior of the order of the Holy Trinity, made a flaming harangue, in which he magnified, A.D.1491. Speeches.

[34] Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 394. [35] Ibid. p. 410. 431.
[36] Ibid.

in

A.D.1491. in very extravagant ſtrains, his maſter's admiration of the wiſdom, valour, and other virtues of the king of England; his warm affection and friendſhip for him; and his earneſt deſire to live at peace with him. As a proof of his entire confidence in his dearly beloved brother, he had deſired them to communicate to him a very important ſecret: that he deſigned in a ſhort time to lead an army in perſon into Italy, to aſſert his right to the kingdom of Naples, unjuſtly detained from him; and then to proceed to make war upon the Ottomans, for the recovery of the Holy Land. He had nothing at preſent to aſk, but a mere trifle, hardly worth mentioning. All the world knew, that their maſter was ſuperior lord of Brittany; and as ſuch, had a right to be guardian to the heireſs, and to diſpoſe of her in marriage; and hoped that the king of England would give him no oppoſition in the exerciſe of that right. The Engliſh told the ambaſſadors, they would conſult their maſter, and give them an anſwer in a few days. At their next meeting, biſhop Fox made a ſhort ſpeech, and told the ambaſſadors, that if their maſter had ſo great an affection for the king as they pretended, it would be better to ſhew it by actions, than only by words. As to the marriage of the heireſs of Brittany, the king would not meddle in it, if their maſter would marry by the book, and not by the ſword. He commended the pious deſign of making war upon the Turks; and when their maſter engaged in that war, the king would petition for a ſhare in the danger, ex-

pence, and glory of the expedition. If the French king is bound in honour, as you ſay, to aſſert his right to the kingdom of Naples, the king my maſter is bound by his honour to aſſert his right to Normandy, Guienne, Anjou, and even to the kingdom of France [37]. This laſt ſtroke ſo irritated the ambaſſadors, that they replied with warmth, "The king our ſovereign is able to defend his "ſceptre with his ſword;" then broke off the conference, and departed. A.D. 1491.

In the beginning of this year the ducheſs of Brittany being involved in great diſtreſs and danger, ſent the prince of Orange, the earl of Dunois, and her chancellor Montaubon, to communicate the ſecret of her marriage with Maximilian to Henry, and to implore his protection. But they implored in vain. Nothing could move his covetous unfeeling heart to riſk any more money. On the contrary, he continually demanded, and obtained, from her ambaſſadors, additional ſecurities for the money he had expended. It is impoſſible to peruſe the treaties he made with the agents of this diſtreſſed princeſs in the courſe of this year, without feeling the moſt lively indignation at this ſelfiſh ſordid prince, who could ſee unmoved the only child of his protector ſtripped of all her dominions, when it was ſo much his intereſt, and ſo much in his Henry's ungenerous behaviour to the Britons.

37 Bacon, p. 82—93. I ſuſpect theſe ſpeeches were made by the noble hiſtorian who hath recorded them. This practice of inſerting ſpeeches that were never ſpoken, gives an author an opportunity of diſplaying his eloquence, but at the expence of his veracity; the moſt valuable virtue of an hiſtorian.

power,

A.D. 1491. power, to save her; and when his subjects panted for liberty to fly to her relief [38].

Rennes besieged. When king Charles and his council considered the haughty answers given to their ambassadors, and were informed that no preparations were making for war in England, they were fully convinced that Henry's intention was to intimidate them with threats which he did not design to execute. They resolved, therefore, to push the war, and finish the conquest of Brittany as soon as possible. With this view they collected all their forces, and invested Rennes, the capital of the duchy, and residence of the duchess [39].

Embassies. In this extremity that distressed princess sent two successive embassies to Henry, to importune him for immediate relief, to prevent her from falling into the hands of her enemies. But nothing could prevail upon him to risk any more of his money. He only renewed his threats of invading France, in conjunction with Maximilian king of the Romans, and Ferdinand king of Spain; and began to make some preparations for the execution of these threats [40].

The French change their plan. The siege of Rennes proved more tedious and difficult than was expected; and the French ministers began to fear the interference of the neighbouring powers, particularly of England, whose interest it was to prevent so great an accession to the monarchy of France. They therefore secretly

[38] Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 433. 437, 438, 439. 443. 456, 457, 458, 459.

[39] Ibid. p. 437. 444. 446. 455. 462.

[40] Ibid.

formed

formed a deſign of acquiring Brittany by a method more ſafe and eaſy than that of conqueſt. When this deſign was firſt formed cannot be diſcovered; becauſe it was conducted, from the beginning to the end, with the moſt profound ſecrecy, on which its ſucceſs depended. It is moſt probable that it was firſt thought of during the ſiege of Rennes. The mareſchal de Rieux, one of the chief inſtruments in its execution, certainly knew nothing of it when he was in England, in the ſummer this year, ſoliciting ſupplies [41]. A.D. 1491.

King of France and ducheſs of Brittany married.

Charles VIII. king of France, had been contracted ſeveral years to Margaret only daughter of Maximilian king of the Romans, and had received extenſive territories as her fortune. The young princeſs reſided at Paris, and bore the title of queen of France. Anne ducheſs of Brittany was married, with all the ſolemnities the church required, to Maximilian, and had taken the title of queen of the Romans. The council of France propoſed to diſſolve both theſe marriages, (as they may be called,) and to unite their ſovereign to the ducheſs in the ties of matrimony, and thereby get the peaceable poſſeſſion of her dominions. They gained the prince of Orange, the duke of Orleans, the earl of Dunois, the mareſchal de Rieux, the chancellor Montaubon, and others, who, by their united efforts and inceſſant importunities, at length prevailed upon the young princeſs to give her conſent. Preliminaries were ſoon

[41] Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 444.

ſettled;

A.D. 1491. settled; the French were admitted into Rennes, and the royal nuptials were ſolemnized with great pomp, 16th December, A. D. 1491.

A.D. 1492. Henry prepares for a war with France; The news of this event threw Maximilian (who was moſt cruelly injured and affronted by it) into a furious rage, which he vented in bitter reproaches and threats of vengeance, that he had not power to execute. Henry was exceedingly chagrined to ſee all his fine political ſchemes defeated, and his precious treaſures which he had expended on Brittany, in danger of being loſt. To prevent this greateſt of misfortunes, (as he eſteemed it,) he determined to make the moſt vigorous efforts. He had already made ſome preparations for war at the expence of his ſubjects, by exacting a benevolence, as it was very improperly called. This odious method of raiſing money was a direct violation of an act of parliament made in the reign of his immediate predeceſſor, on whom he had ſo liberally beſtowed the name of tyrant [42]. This benevolence was levied by commiſſioners appointed in every county, furniſhed with very artful enſnaring inſtructions [43]. Not contented with the great ſums of money raiſed by the benevolence, he called a parliament, which in its firſt ſeſſion granted him two-fifteenths. To this parliament, at the opening of its ſecond ſeſſion, January 26th, A. D. 1492, Henry made a ſpeech, in which he declared his reſolution to make immediate war on France, and never to deſiſt till he had ſubdued that king-

[42] Statutes, 11 Richard III.

[43] Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 446, 447, 448. 464.

dom.

dom. He put them in mind of the glorious victories of Creſſy, Poictiers, and Agincourt; of a king of France a priſoner in London, and a king of England crowned in Paris. The war, he ſaid, would be expenſive at firſt, but he hoped ſoon to make it maintain itſelf[44]. The parliament, tranſported with joy at the proſpect of a war with France, gave a kind of ſanction to the late illegal benevolence, by commanding the arrears of it to be levied, and made ſeveral acts relating to war[45]. A.D. 1492.

Henry having ſpent the greateſt part of this year in preparing for his intended expedition againſt France, ſailed from Sandwich, October 6th, attended by a ſplendid train of his nobility, and a gallant army of 25,000 foot, and 1600 men at arms, and landed at Calais the ſame day[46]. This formidable invaſion occaſioned little or no alarm in France. The French miniſters perfectly well knew that Henry had no intention to fight, or make conqueſts. It is even probable, that the conditions of the peace had been ſettled before the embarkation, by Giles lord D'Aubeney, governor of Calais, and the mareſchal Des Quardes, governor of Picardy, who had been commiſſioned by the two kings, in the preceding harveſt, to meet and treat of peace[47]. However that may be, ſomething was to be done, to ſave appearances, and prevent the ſecret of the peace from tranſpiring too ſoon. The Engliſh army marched from Calais, invades France; makes peace.

44 Bacon, p. 96, 97, 98. 45 Statutes, 7 Hen. VII.
46 Bacon, p. 103. 47 Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 481. 497.

A.D.1492. lais, October 15th, and inveſted Boulogne, but made little progreſs in the ſiege. At the ſame time Henry received letters from his two allies, Ferdinand and Maximilian, informing him of what he very well knew, that they were not prepared for invading France, which he made as public in the army as poſſible, to abate their fondneſs for the war, and reconcile them to the approaching peace [48]. Fox, biſhop of Bath and Wells, and the lord D'Aubeney, were commiſſioned, October 29th, to treat with the mareſchal Des Quardes and others at Eſtaples, where, in three days, the plenipotentiaries ſettled all the conditions of the treaty, or rather bargain. When this treaty (by which Charles agreed to pay to the Engliſh monarch 620,000 crowns in gold, equivalent to 124,000 pounds, for the money he had expended on Brittany, and 125,000 crowns, equivalent to 25,000 pounds, as arrears of the penſion granted by Lewis XI. to Edward IV.) was preſented to Henry, he affected to doubt whether he ſhould ratify it or not, and referred it to a council of the great lords and chief officers of his army for their advice. The members of this council, gained, as it is ſaid, by bribes and penſions from the king of France, adviſed their ſovereign to ratify the treaty, and preſented a long petition, containing their reaſons for this advice, which were chiefly theſe: the lateneſs of the ſeaſon; the difficulties of the ſiege; the failure of his allies; the greatneſs of

[48] Bacon, p. 110, 111.

the

the ſum to be received; the advantages of peace to commerce, &c. In this petition they were not aſhamed to affirm, that it was the moſt glorious peace that any king of England had ever made with a king of France; and declared, that if any of his ſubjects preſumed to find fault with it, they would defend it, or take all the blame of it upon themſelves[49]. With this petition, dictated by himſelf, the king complied and ratified the treaty, November 6th, A. D. 1492. By ſuch a long train of crooked policy did this avaricious prince deceive and pillage his ſubjects, and diſgrace his country, to amaſs treaſures which he did not need, and had not the heart to uſe. A. D. 1492.

The great lords and chieftains who petitioned for the peace had probably been refunded the expences they had been at in preparing for the war. But this was not the caſe with many other gentlemen, who had borrowed money, or ſold their eſtates, to equip themſelves and followers, in hopes of gaining both riches and honours by their conqueſts; and were therefore very ill-pleaſed with this unexpected peace, which blaſted all their hopes. The people of England in general had been much diſpleaſed at the loſs of Brittany, and their diſcontents were greatly increaſed by the ſudden return of that expenſive armament, for which they had been ſo ſeverely taxed, without having performed any thing for the honour or advantage of their country. In a word, Henry was very unpopular at this period, when a pretender to his A. D. 1493. Henry unpopular.

[49] Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 490. 494. 541. 504.

A. D. 1493. crown appeared, who is well known in hiſtory by the name of Perkin Warbeck, but who called himſelf Richard duke of York, the youngeſt ſon of Edward IV. late king of England.

Difficulty of diſcovering the truth.

It would be eaſy to adopt any one of theſe two opinions on this ſubject: 1. That Warbeck was an impoſtor; or, 2. That he was the real duke of York, and even to ſupport that opinion with plauſible and ſpecious arguments. But it is not ſo eaſy to eſtabliſh the truth of either of theſe opinions ſo fully and clearly as to leave no ground of doubt in the mind of an attentive and critical inquirer. The relation given of this matter by the noble hiſtorian of this reign, and implicitly followed by many ſubſequent hiſtorians, is too laboured and artificial to be ſtrictly true in all its parts; at leaſt many things are poſitively affirmed in it, without any proof, which he could hardly know, and which are exceedingly improbable. 1ſt, It is affirmed, that Margaret ducheſs-dowager of Burgundy ſpent ſeveral years in ſearching for a young man to perſonate the duke of York, who ſhe knew to be dead, in order to pull down Henry, who was married to her niece, by whom he had two young princes of great hopes. This is a degree of perverſeneſs, wickedneſs, and malice, which is ſcarcely credible [50]. 2dly, It is affirmed further, that ſhe was ſo fortunate as to find a young

[50] It cannot be denied that Margaret countenanced Lambert Simnel, knowing him to be an impoſtor. But Lambert was entirely in the power of the earl of Lincoln, her nephew, whom, it is probable, ſhe wiſhed to ſee on the throne. She had not now any prince of the houſe of York to ſubſtitute in the room of Henry.

man

man exactly of the age of the duke of York, who A. D. 1493.
beſides a ſtriking reſemblance in his perſon to Edward IV. was as admirably qualified to act the part deſigned, as if he had been created for that purpoſe. "Such a mercurial," to uſe the words of the noble hiſtorian, "as the like hath ſeldom been "known; and had ſuch a crafty and bewitching "faſhion, both to move pity and induce belief, as "was like a kind of faſcination or enchantment[51]." Beſides, though he was the ſon of one John Oſbeck, a converted Jew, and had ſpent his youth in wandering from place to place, he acted the prince with as much dignity and propriety as if he had been educated in a court. 3dly, It is affirmed that Margaret brought this young man to her court, but ſo ſecretly, that no perſon ſaw him or heard of him, and that ſhe privately inſtructed him in every thing relating to the perſons and characters of Edward IV., his queen, the princes their ſons, and the princeſſes their daughters, and all the little incidents that had happened in the court of England when the duke of York was a boy, though ſhe had left England ſeveral years before that duke was born. But how this hiſtorian came to the knowledge of all this we are not informed. 4thly, It is ſaid, that when Perkin was perfect in his leſſons, and able to anſwer all queſtions that could be put to him, he was ſent to Portugal, where he remained a whole year; during which the ducheſs took care to have a report propagated that the duke of York was alive, and would ſoon

[51] Bacon, p. 113, 114.

A. D. 1493. make his appearance. Finally, we are informed, that when the war was ready to break out between France and England, Margaret, thinking this a proper ſeaſon to produce her pupil on the ſcene, ſent Perkin a meſſage to ſail into Ireland, where the houſe of York was much beloved, and there take upon him the name and character of Richard duke of York, which he did accordingly [52]. What truth may be in all this I ſhall not take upon me to determine; but I confeſs it ſeems to me more like a tale contrived to ſolve appearances, than genuine hiſtory ſupported by proper evidence.

Warbeck in Ireland; When Perkin Warbeck, calling himſelf Richard duke of York, (how truly I ſhall by and by inquire,) arived at Cork, he was joined by the mayor of that city, and ſeveral others. But the reſort to his ſtandard was far from being general. The Iriſh ſtill ſmarted from the wounds they had received in ſupporting Lambert Simnel, and were in general averſe to venture ſo ſoon upon a ſecond attempt of the ſame kind. Perkin wrote to the two potent earls of Deſmond and Kildare, intreating their aſſiſtance. But theſe noblemen were not willing to engage in ſo dangerous an undertaking [53].

in France; When Perkin's affairs were in this unproſperous ſtate in Ireland, he received a meſſage by two ambaſſadors from the king of France, inviting him to Paris, and promiſing him protection and aſſiſtance. Having communicated this joyful news to his followers in Ireland, he embarked with the ambaſſadors. At his arrival at Paris, he was received

[52] Bacon, p. 112—118. [53] Id. p. 117, 118.

by

by Charles with all the honours due to the duke of York; lodged, ſerved, and attended as a great prince, and a guard aſſigned for his honour and protection. Here he was joined by ſir George Nevil, and about a hundred other Engliſh gentlemen [54]. A. D. 1493.

This gale of proſperity was not of long duration. As ſoon as Charles was certain of a peace a hint was given him to leave France. He obeyed with great celerity, for fear of being delivered to the king of England, went to the court of the ducheſs of Burgundy, preſented himſelf before her, as her unfortunate nephew Richard duke of York, and claimed her protection as her near relation. The ducheſs, it is ſaid, acted her part with great dexterity on this occaſion. She at firſt treated him roughly, calling him an impoſtor; ſaid ſhe had been once deceived, but would not be deceived a ſecond time. To prove him to be an impoſtor, in preſence of her whole court, ſhe aſked him many queſtions about king Edward, his queen and family, in which ſhe had before inſtructed him, and appeared aſtoniſhed at his anſwers. At length, as overcome by the force of evidence, ſhe embraced him in a tranſport of joy, and cried out, "I have found my long loſt nephew; he is indeed "the duke of York [55]." She afterwards gave him the name of the White Roſe of England, appointed him a guard of thirty halberdiers, and treated in Flanders.

[54] Bacon, p. 119.

[55] Whether this great ducheſs was as good an actreſs as hiſtorians have repreſented her, may be doubted.

A. D. 1493. him in all reſpects as the head of her family, and the undoubted heir of the crown of England [56].

A Conſpiracy. The news of theſe tranſactions ſoon reached England, and gave no little joy to people of all ranks, who either hated the king, or were attached to the houſe of York. But knowing the ſeverity of Henry's government, and that his ſpies were numerous, they were conſtrained to conceal their joy. Several gentlemen, however, of the York party held private conſultations, and ſent ſir Robert Clifford to Bruſſels to inveſtigate the truth. He was well received; and having had frequent converſations with Warbeck, he wrote to his friends in England, that he had been well acquainted with the perſon of the Duke of York, and was ſo certain that this young man was that prince, that their remained no room for doubt [57].

Endeavours to prove the death of the Duke of York. In the mean time Henry was not idle; he ſaw a ſtorm gathering around him, and prepared to meet it with calmneſs and intrepidity. His firſt care was, to endeavour to convince his ſubjects, that the duke of York had been put to death at the ſame time with his brother Edward V. There were only two perſons then alive who had been concerned in that horrid ſcene, ſir James Tirrel, lieutenant of the Tower, and John Dighton, one of the murderers. They were both committed to the Tower and examined, and their declarations publiſhed, which were to this purpoſe: that John Dighton and Miles Foreſt ſmothered the two

[56] Bacon. [57] Id. p. 122.

princes

princes in their bed, and then called in their maſter ſir James Tirrel, who ſaw their dead bodies laid forth naked; that they were firſt buried under the ſtairs, but afterwards removed by the prieſt of the Tower to another place, which could not now be diſcovered, becauſe the prieſt was dead. When they had given this evidence of their own guilt, they were ſet at liberty, to the diſgrace of public juſtice. The teſtimony of ſuch miſcreants met with little credit; and Henry never made uſe of it in any of his ſubſequent declarations [58]. A.D 1493.

Endeavours to diſcover Warbeck.

Henry's next care was to diſcover, if poſſible, the family and hiſtory of the adventurer who perſonated the duke of York. With this view he ſent ſeveral artful and truſty ſpies into the Low Countries, and from them, as it is ſaid, he received information of the following particulars: that he was the ſon of one John Oſbeck, a converted Jew of Tourney; that he was born in London: that Edward IV. had been his godfather, which was not very probable: that when he was a child, his parents had carried him with them to Tourney; that when he was a young boy he lived ſome time with a relation at Antwerp, after which he became ſuch a wanderer, that he could be no farther traced: only it is added, that in all his wanderings he converſed much with the Engliſh; but how this came to be known, when he could not be traced, it is difficult to conceive. It appears plainly to have been put in to account for his ſpeaking the Engliſh language ſo perfectly [59]. In a word, it is evident, that Henry

[58] Bacon, p. 123. [59] Id. p. 114, 115.

A. D. 1493. with all his art and induſtry, could diſcover very little of the hiſtory of this young man, whoever he was.

Warbeck betrayed.

Henry diſpatched other agents of higher rank, on a more diſhonourable buſineſs, in which they had better ſucceſs. Several gentlemen went over to Bruſſels; inſinuated themſelves into Warbeck's confidence, by pretending to be his moſt zealous partiſans, watched all his words and actions, and tranſmitted accounts of every thing to Henry; who pretended to be in a violent rage againſt them, declared them outlaws, and procured them to be excommunicated in the moſt public manner. He directed theſe agents to ſpare no expence to gain ſir Robert Clifford, which they accompliſhed; and he being Warbeck's greateſt confident, became a moſt dangerous enemy to him and his friends[60]. In conſequence of informations received from him, John Ratcliffe, lord Fitzwalter, ſir Simon Mountfort, ſir Thomas Thwaits, William Dawbigney, Robert Ratcliffe, Thomas Creſſner, and Thomas Aſtwood, were all ſeized in one day, tried, and condemned as guilty o high treaſon, for corresponding with, and promiſing aid to, Perkin Warbeck. Lord Fitzwalter, ſir Simon Mountfort, Robert Ratcliffe, and William Dawbigney were ſoon after executed[61]. Theſe diſcoveries and executions ſtruck terror into all the partiſans of Perkin in England. They ſaw they

60 There is ſome reaſon to ſuſpect that Clifford was an agent of Henry's from the beginning. He was of a Lancaſtrian family, the ſon of that lord Clifford who killed the young Earl of Rutland at Wakefield.

61 Bacon, p. 130, 131.

were

were betrayed; they knew not whom to truſt, and could not form any confederacy. A. D. 1493.

Another diſcovery and execution followed, which ſtruck them with ſtill greater conſternation. Sir Robert Clifford returned to England, appeared before the king ſitting in council in the Tower, January 7th, A. D. 1494, and accuſed ſir William Stanley, the lord chamberlain, who was preſent, of high treaſon. Though Henry was in the ſecret, he affected to be exceedingly ſurpriſed, and to diſbelieve the accuſation; but ſir Robert perſiſting in it, the lord chamberlain was committed to priſon, tried, and found guilty. Our information of the particular facts with which he was charged, and of the evidence brought againſt him, is very imperfect. He is ſaid to have confeſſed rather too much, with a view to ſoften the king's diſpleaſure, and regain his favour. His accuſer, ſir Rober Clifford, ſwore, that he had declared to him, "if he were ſure that "young man (meaning Warbeck) were king "Edward's ſon, he would never bear arms againſt "him." This I imagine, was not treaſon in the eye of the law, but it was the blackeſt treaſon in king Henry's eyes, who hated the houſe of York, and all who favoured its title. But though ſir William Stanley was condemned, it was not believed, either by himſelf or others, that the ſentence would be executed. It is hardly poſſible for one man to be under greater obligations to another, than Henry was to ſir William Stanley, and his brother lord Stanley, who was married to the king's mother. They ſaved his life, gained him the victory, and placed

A. D. 1494. Sir William Stanley beheaded.

A. D. 1494. placed a crown upon his head, at Boſworth. But great obligations are apt to excite diſguſt, rather than gratitude, in haughty and ſelfiſh ſpirits. Beſide this, there were two other conſiderations, which had a powerful influence on Henry's hard and covetous heart. He knew that the execution of ſir William Stanley would convince all his ſubjects that they could expect no mercy, if they did any thing in favour of the pretender to his crown; and that the confiſcation of his great eſtate would fill his coffers[62]. Theſe conſiderations at laſt prevailed, and ſir William Stanley, the greateſt benefactor of an unrelenting maſter, was beheaded on Tower-hill, 16th February, A. D. 1495[63].

A. D. 1495. Warbeck makes an attempt upon England.

Henry's vigilance and ſeverity prevented any inſurrection in favour of Warbeck; and the princes on the continent were ſo much engaged in proſecuting their own ſchemes, that they could give him no aſſiſtance. He knew, however, that he had many friends in England who hated the king, and wiſhed for a revolution; and he determined to make a trial of their ſtrength and reſolution, by appearing among them. Having with the aſſiſtance of his great patroneſs, the ducheſs of Burgundy, collected a conſiderable body of troops of different nations, and, in general, of deſperate fortunes, he embarked with them, and approached the coaſt of Kent, near Sandwich, July 3d, A. D. 1495; when he commanded a party of his men to

[62] Sir William Stanley had an eſtate of 3000l. a-year (a great ſum in thoſe times,) 40,000 marks in money and plate, beſide jewels, furniture, horſes, cattle, ſheep, &c. to a great value.

[63] Bacon, p. 133, 134. Hall, f. 36.

land,

land, to gain intelligence, and invite the country to declare for him. But it being obſerved that they were all foreigners, and of a ſuſpicious appearance, the gentlemen and common people took arms, to protect their property from being plundered. They tried ſeveral ſtratagems to entice Warbeck to come on ſhore; but finding that he was on his guard, they fell upon his men who had landed, killed many, and took one hundred and fifty of them priſoners. By the king's command theſe were all hanged, to ſhew foreigners, as well as his own ſubjects, what they might expect if they engaged in ſuch attempts[64]. Warbeck finding that none of his men returned, ſuſpected what had happened, and ſailed back to Flanders. A. D. 1495.

Warbeck ſoon had reaſon to fear that he would not long enjoy protection in that country. The interruption of trade between England and the Netherlands, which the protection already afforded him had occaſioned, was become very diſtreſsful to the Flemings; and the archduke Philip, their ſovereign, at their earneſt requeſt, was negotiating a treaty of friendſhip and commerce with England. This treaty was concluded, 24th February, A. D. 1496; and by the fourth article, the contracting parties mutually agreed not to admit the enemies of each other into their territories, and by the fifth article, each of the parties engaged to expel ſuch enemies of the other as had already been admitted into his territories, within a month after it A. D. 1496. Treaty.

[64] Bacon, p. 141, 142.

was

A. D. 1496. was required [65]. Theſe articles were evidently deſigned to deprive Warbeck and his followers of that protection which they had hitherto enjoyed in Flanders.

Warbeck in Ireland.

Warbeck was not ignorant of theſe tranſactions; and wiſely reſolving to depart before he was compelled, he ſailed, with ſuch followers as ſtill adhered to him, into Ireland. But there he found that the people of all ranks, for various reaſons, were more averſe than ever to embark in his quarrel, which obliged him to ſeek for protection and aſſiſtance in another country [66].

in Scotland.

Henry, from the moment of his acceſſion, had endeavoured by all means to preſerve peace with Scotland. But theſe endeavours had not always been ſucceſsful, eſpecially after the acceſſion of James IV., who, being a young and warlike prince, was apt to reſent the incurſions of the borderers, which occaſioned frequent diſputes. Though the emperor Maximilian, the archduke Philip his ſon, and Charles king of France, were all at peace with Henry, and bound by treaties not to protect his enemies in their dominions: they did not really wiſh him well, and would have rejoiced to ſee his fall. Theſe princes, it is ſaid, gave Warbeck letters of recommendation to the king of Scotland, which determined him to direct his courſe to that country. When he arrived at Edinburgh, he was admitted to a ſolemn public audience of the king, at which he behaved with equal art and dignity. Having approached the king, ſeated on his throne

[65] Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 550. [66] Bacon, p. 148.

and

and ſurrounded by his nobles, he addreſſed him in an eloquent ſpeech to this purpoſe: That he was the unfortunate Richard duke of York, the youngeſt ſon of king Edward IV.: that he had been ſaved from death by the murderers of his brother Edward V., delivered from the Tower, conducted to the continent, and their abandoned, for what reaſon God only knew: that he then reſolved to conceal himſelf till the tyrant Richard III. died, when he propoſed to appear and claim the crown; but that one Henry Tudor had come from France and uſurped the throne; that after this he had led the life of a wretched wanderer ſeveral years: but that at length, being aſhamed of a way of life ſo unbecoming his birth, he had diſcovered himſelf to his dearly beloved aunt, the ducheſs of Burgundy, and to Charles king of France: who had both acknowledged and aſſiſted him; but that the providence of God had reſerved the honour of raiſing him to the throne of his anceſtors to the king of Scotland, in order to eſtabliſh a perpetual amity between the two nations [67]. To this ſpeech king James, it is ſaid, replied, "That "whoever he was, he ſhould never have reaſon "to repent that he had put himſelf under his pro-"tection."

A. D. 1496.

A truce between England and Scotland had been concluded at Edinburgh, 25th June, A. D. 1493, to continue to the laſt day of April, A. D.

King James convinced that Warbeck was the duke of York.

[67] Bacon, p. 148—153. There is good reaſon to ſuſpect that this harangue, given us at full length by the noble hiſtorian, was his own compoſition. The language of it is evidently more modern than that of the fifteenth century.

A. D. 1496. 1501. By the fifth article of that truce it was ſtipulated, that neither of the two kings ſhould admit the enemies of the other into his dominions, or give them any aſſiſtance[68]. This article was evidently intended by king Henry to prevent Perkin Warbeck, his moſt dangerous enemy, from obtaining admiſſion into, or aſſiſtance from Scotland; and it could not but be ſo underſtood by king James. Beſides this, Henry had always diſcovered a ſincere deſire to live at peace with James, to redreſs all his grievances, and even to enter into the moſt intimate connexion with him, by offering him his eldeſt daughter, the princeſs Margaret, in marriage, only a few days before Warbeck's arrival in Scotland[69]. Nor could James be ignorant of the danger of provoking ſo wiſe, brave, and fortunate a prince, poſſeſſed of ſo much power and wealth, by wantonly attempting to pull him from his throne, without any provocation. It muſt therefore have been ſome very powerful motive which determined king James to diſregard ſo many obligations and inducements to live at peace with his powerful and friendly neighbour, unleſs we ſuppoſe him to have been an abſolute madman, who had no concern either for his honour or his intereſt. In a word, it is hardly poſſible to conceive any other motive that can account for the conduct of king James on this occaſion, but a full conviction that Warbeck really was, what he pretended to be, the duke of York. Such a conviction may be ſuppoſed to have excited a very

[68] Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 535.

[69] Ibid. p. 635, 636.

lively

lively compaſſion in the boſom of James, a brave and generous prince, and to have made him overlook every other conſideration. It is a further proof that James was at this time convinced that Warbeck was not an impoſtor, that he conſented to his marriage with lady Katherine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntley, one of the moſt noble, beautiful, and accompliſhed ladies, in his dominions [70]. It is alſo probable, that James was made to believe that the people of England in general entertained the ſame favourable opinion of Warbeck, and that they would receive him with open arms, as ſoon as they ſaw him ſupported by a powerful army. A. D. 1496.

King James having determined to aid Warbeck, raiſed an army with which he invaded England, in October, A. D. 1496, and publiſhed a manifeſto, inviting all the ſubjects of that kingdom to repair to the ſtandard of their rightful ſovereign, Richard IV. by the grace of God king of England and of France, lord of Ireland, and prince of Wales. This manifeſto, which is long and artfully drawn, narrated his deliverance from the Tower; the uſurpation of his crown by one Henry, ſon to Edmund Tudor, ſon to Owen Tudor, a man of low birth: this Henry's cruel perſecutions of him, and oppreſſions of his ſubjects: that he had now entered his kingdom, by the grace of God and the aid of his dearly beloved couſin the king of Scots, to aſſert his right, and confound the calumnies of the uſurper, who was preparing to leave the land with Warbeck's manifeſto.

[70] Bacon, p. 153.

the

A. D. 1496. the treaſures he had amaſſed by his exactions. He then intreats and commands all his loving ſubjects to prevent the eſcape of his great enemy, and promiſes 1000l. in money, and 100 marks a-year in land, to any who ſhall kill or take him priſoner. He next promiſes to uſe his utmoſt efforts to repair the miſchiefs that had been done to the kingdom by the uſurper; "by his manifold treaſons, "abominable murders, manſlaughters, robberies, "extortions, the daily pilling of the people "by diſmes, taſks, talliages, benevolences, and "other unlawful impoſitions and grievous ex-"actions." He threatened all who continued to adhere to his adverſary with the ſevereſt puniſhments, and promiſed a free pardon to all who abandoned him, and returned to their duty. Finally, he invited and commanded all his ſubjects to attend his perſon in their moſt defenſible array [71].

This manifeſto did not produce the deſired effect. Few or none of the Engliſh joined the invading army; which was not only owing to their doubts concerning Warbeck, but alſo to their national animoſity againſt the Scots; to their high opinion of Henry's policy and good fortune; and to their dread of his ſeverity. When the Scots (who for ſome time behaved as friends rather than enemies) obſerved that none of the Engliſh joined them, they had recourſe to the uſual way of

[71] See this manifeſto, Appendix, No. I. This copy, tranſcribed from MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum, is very different from that in ſir Francis Bacon's hiſtory of this reign, p. 154—160.

making war on the borders, by ſpoiling and plundering the country. On this occaſion Warbeck, it is ſaid, acted the part of a good humane prince with great propriety, by expoſtulating with king James on this cruel method of making war; and declaring he would rather loſe a crown, than obtain it by the ruin of his ſubjects. James (who, it is probable, began now to ſuſpect that he had been deceived) anſwered peeviſhly, that he gave himſelf too much concern about ſubjects who did not acknowledge him for their ſovereign [72]. About the end of the year the Scots returned into their own country, to ſecure their booty. A.D. 1496.

Though Henry could not but be irritated at this deſtructive unprovoked invaſion, he had all his paſſions under ſuch ſubjection to his avarice, that he proceeded calmly in his plan of adding to his treaſures by every event. In order to this, he gave a ſhocking exaggerated deſcription of the murders, rapes, burnings, and devaſtations committed by the Scots in their late invaſion, to a parliament which met at Weſtminſter, January 16th, A. D. 1497; and declared that he was determined, for his own honour, and the honour of the nation, to reſent this inſult in a ſignal manner. The parliament really felt the reſentment which their ſovereign feigned, and granted him 120,000l. for a war with Scotland under certain reſtrictions, to prevent its being applied to any other purpoſe. But Henry, without the leaſt regard to theſe reſtric- A.D. 1497. Parliament.

[72] Bacon, p. 160.

A.D. 1497. tions, immediately ſet about the collection of the money with his uſual ſtrictneſs [73].

Inſurrection

Taxes are often more frankly impoſed than they are paid. The people of Cornwall, living far from the ſeat of danger, diſcovered great reluctance to the payment of this tax; in which they were encouraged by two popular demagogues, Michael Joſeph, a blackſmith, and Thomas Flammock, a country lawyer. Flammock, who was eſteemed a kind of oracle, aſſured them that this was an unlawful tax, which they were not obliged to pay; becauſe the barons in the north were bound by their tenures to defend the kingdom againſt the Scots. He adviſed them further, to take arms, to proceed to London in a peaceable and orderly manner, and to preſent a petition to the king, praying him to give up this unlawful tax, and to puniſh thoſe evil counſellors who adviſed him to oppreſs his ſubjects by ſuch heavy taxes. They followed this advice, aſſembled in great numbers, with belts, bows, pikes, and ſuch weapons as they could procure, and marched under the conduct of their two leaders, Flammock and Joſeph; their numbers daily increaſing as they advanced through the counties of Devon and Somerſet. When they arrived at Wells they amounted, it is ſaid, to 16,000. There Thomas Touchet, lord Audley, a nobleman of a reſtleſs ambitious ſpirit, put himſelf at their head, and conducted them towards the capital. They obliged him, however, to deviate into Kent, in hopes that the

[73] Records of Parl. vol. vii. Parl. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 441.

people

people of that county would join them, which was prevented by the influence of the noblemen and gentlemen of the county. This diſappointment made ſome of the inſurgents deſert, and diſcouraged thoſe who remained. But as they met with no oppoſition, they ſtill advanced, and encamped at Blackheath, within ſight of London, about the middle of June [74]. A. D. 1497.

Though Henry had given theſe inſurgents no oppoſition in their progreſs, he was not ignorant of any of their proceedings, nor unprepared for their reception. He had collected a great army at London, compoſed of all the fighting men in the neighbouring counties, and had recalled the lord Daubeney, with the troops deſigned for an expedition againſt Scotland. This army was ſo much ſuperior to that of the inſurgents, that he divided it into three bodies, directing the firſt, commanded by the earl of Oxford, to take a compaſs and attack them in the rear, and the ſecond, commanded by lord Daubeney, to attack them in front, retaining the third about his own perſon, in St. George's Fields, to ſecure the city. Though the Corniſh were brave and ſtrong men, yet being undiſciplined and ill armed, they could not long reſiſt two ſuch attacks. About 2000 of them were killed, and almoſt all the reſt taken priſoners, June 22, A. D. 1497. On this occaſion Henry acted with uncommon lenity; contenting himſelf with the execution of lord Audley and the two incendiaries, Flammock and Michael Joſeph; he gave up the other priſoners to the diſpoſal of their ſuppreſſed.

74 Hall, f. 42. Hollingſh. p. 781. Bacon, p. 163—166.

A.D.1497. captors, who ſet them at liberty for two or three ſhillings a man [75].

Invaſion. While Henry was engaged with the Corniſh inſurgents, king James made a ſecond irruption into the north of England, and beſieged the caſtle of Norham, at the ſame time plundering the neighbourhood. But having received intelligence that the earl of Surrey was approaching with an army of 20,000 men, he raiſed the ſiege and retired into his own kingdom. The earl marched about four miles into Scotland, took and demoliſhed the little caſtle of Ayton, and then returned to Berwick, and diſbanded his army [76].

Negotiation. Henry earneſtly deſired a peace with Scotland, to deprive Warbeck of an aſylum in that country, whence he might give him frequent alarms; but was unwilling to be the firſt propoſer of peace, for fear of a repulſe. He prevailed, therefore, on Peter D'Ayala, the Spaniſh ambaſſador at his court, to go into Scotland, (where he had a commiſſion from his maſter to execute,) and endeavour to diſcover king James's inclinations as to peace or war. D'Ayala, finding that James was not averſe to peace, acquainted Henry, that if he would ſend proper perſons into Scotland, with full powers to treat, a peace or truce would be concluded. Henry, in conſequence of this information, gave the propoſed commiſſion, July 4th, to his great confident Richard Fox biſhop of Durham, and other two, who met with the plenipotentiaries of Scotland at Ayton, and entered on a negotiation [77].

[75] Bacon, p. 163—172. Hall, f. 42, 43. [76] Ibid.
[77] Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 677.

When

When king James reſolved to make peace with England, he intimated to Warbeck, in the ſofteſt terms, that it was become neceſſary for him to leave Scotland, and take up his reſidence in ſome other country. Warbeck, it is ſaid, behaved on this trying occaſion with compoſure and dignity. He thanked the king for the protection and aſſiſtance he had afforded him, and the many favours he had conferred upon him, of which, he ſaid, he ſhould ever retain a grateful remembrance. He then embarked with his amiable conſort, (who would not forſake him,) and about 120 followers, and landed at Cork, July 30th. A.D. 1497. Warbeck leaves Scotland.

The departure of Warbeck ſmoothed the road to peace between the two Britiſh monarchs, and a truce was ſubſcribed by the plenipotentiaries of both princes, in the church of Ayton, September 29th, A. D. 1491, to continue from that day for ſeven years [78]. Peter D'Ayala, who acted as mediator in this negotiation, acquired great honour by his activity and impartiality, and was highly praiſed by both the contracting parties. About three months after, this truce was prolonged, to continue during the lives of the two kings, and a year after the death of the longeſt liver [79]. Truce.

Though Henry had happily repelled the attacks of his foreign enemies, quelled the inſurrections of his ſubjects, and made peace with all the neighbouring princes, and might therefore expect to enjoy ſome tranquillity, he was ſoon involved in new troubles. When the priſoners who had been A.D. 1498.

[78] Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 678. [79] Ibid. p. 679.

A.D. 1498. taken at Blackheath, and had obtained their liberty with ſo much eaſe, returned home, they revived the hopes and inflamed the diſcontents of their countrymen, by telling them, that the king did not dare to put them to death, or to keep them priſoners, becauſe he knew that almoſt all his other ſubjects were diſcontented and ripe for rebellion. Upon hearing this, the people of Cornwall and Devonſhire, where the odious tax was ſtill collected with great ſeverity, flew to arms, and reſolved to make another attempt more directly againſt the king than the former. Having no perſon of eminence or ability to lead them, they turned their eyes towards Warbeck, and ſent meſſengers, it is ſaid, into Ireland, to invite him to come and put himſelf at their head. However that may be, Warbeck, either on information or invitation, ſailed from Ireland, and landed at Whitſand-bay, September 7th, A. D. 1498, with his wife, and about a hundred men, who ſtill followed his fortunes. Being joined by three thouſand of the inſurgents at Bodmin, he publiſhed a manifeſto ſimilar to that which he had formerly publiſhed, with the neceſſary alterations [80].

Exeter beſieged. Warbeck, by the advice of his confederates, beſieged Exeter, the ſtrongeſt and moſt opulent city in thoſe parts. But the citizens, dreading to be plundered by his undiſciplined followers, rejected all his fair promiſes, and reſolved to make a brave defence. As he had no artillery, he attempted to take the place by burning the gates and ſcaling the

[80] Stowe, p. 489. Bacon, p. 179, 180.

walls;

walls; but being repulſed, with the loſs of two hundred men, he raiſed the ſiege, and marched to Taunton in Somerſetſhire, September 20th [81]. A.D. 1498.

In the mean time Henry, who could not be at eaſe while a pretender to his throne was at liberty, made much greater preparations than were neceſſary to cruſh ſo feeble an inſurrection, with a view to get Warbeck into his hands. He declared publicly, that now was the time for ſuch of his ſubjects as wiſhed to gain his favour, to exert themſelves in his ſervice. This engaged the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Devonſhire, and ſeveral other barons, to raiſe their forces and take the field. The lord Daubeney, with a conſiderable body of troops, advanced towards the enemy, announcing the approach of the king with a much greater army. Though the inſurgents were now become deſperate, and declared to Warbeck that they were ready to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood in his defence, yet ſeeing himſelf on the point of being attacked by forces ſo far ſuperior to his own, he fled in the night, and took ſanctuary in the monaſtery of Bewley [82]. The lord Daubeney, having heard of Warbeck's flight, ſent five hundred horſe in purſuit of him, who, arriving too late to prevent his admiſſion into the ſanctuary, ſurrounded it, to prevent his eſcape. When the inſurgents found that they were abandoned by their leader, they ſubmitted to the king's mercy, and were diſmiſſed, except a few of the ringleaders, who were ſoon after hanged at Exeter [83]. Warbeck in ſanctuary.

[81] Bacon, p. 181. Hall, f. 46. [82] Stowe, p. 480.
[83] Hollingſhead, p. 784 Bacon, p. 181.

A.D. 1498. Lady Katherine Gordon.

The king being informed that the lady Katherine Gordon, ſpouſe to Warbeck, was at St. Michael's-mount in Cornwall, ſent a party of horſe to bring her from thence. When ſhe was brought into his preſence, he was ſo much affected by her beauty, modeſty, and diſtreſs, that he treated her with great tenderneſs, ſent her to his queen, and ſettled upon her a decent allowance for her ſupport. This unfortunate lady was long known in the court of England by the name of the White Roſe; a name that had been given to her huſband on account of his ſuppoſed birth, and continued to her on account of her innocence and beauty [84].

Warbeck in cuſtody.

Henry now deliberated with his council what was to be done with Warbeck. Some adviſed him to take him out of the ſanctuary by force, and put him to death. But the violation of ſanctuaries was a dangerous meaſure in thoſe times, and would have embroiled the king with the pope and clergy. Others adviſed to tempt him to leave the ſanctuary and ſurrender, by a promiſe of life. This promiſe was made and accepted. Warbeck came out of the ſanctuary, was conducted to London; and carried through the principal ſtreets of that city, November 28th, amidſt the hiſſes, taunts, and inſults of the mob, which he bore with dignity and compoſure. He was then committed to the cuſtody of certain truſty keepers, with a ſtrict charge not to ſuffer him to eſcape. Henry never admitted him into his preſence, but gratified his curioſity by viewing him from a window [85].

[84] Bacon, p. 184. [85] Ibid. p. 186. Stowe, p. 480.

Warbeck,

Warbeck, impatient of reſtraint, eſcaped from his keepers, but finding that he was hotly purſued, and would ſoon be taken, he entered himſelf a aſnctuary-man in the monaſtery of Shene in Surrey; and though the prior interceded with the king in his favour, he was taken from the ſanctuary and brought back to Weſtminſter. There he was prevailed upon to acknowledge that he was an impoſtor, and to give an account of his real family and adventures, which he read to the people from a ſcaffold near the gate of Weſtminſter-hall on one day, and on the next day from a ſcaffold in Cheapſide; after which he was committed to the Tower[86]. A.D. 1498. in the Tower.

Almoſt all the means which Henry employed to convince his ſubjects that Warbeck was an impoſtor had a contrary effect. Even this confeſſion, which it might have been imagined, would have removed all their doubts, rather increaſed them. It was very different from the account publiſhed by the king from the information of his ſpies, at the beginning of theſe troubles; and therefore both could not be true. Henry had publiſhed, that Warbeck was born in London, and that Edward IV. was his godfather. Warbeck declared in his confeſſion, that he was born at Tournay in Flanders, and that he had never been in any of the Britiſh iſles till he arrived at Cork, in the ſervice of a merchant. He added further, that when he appeared in that city, dreſſed in ſilk clothes belonging to his maſter, ſeveral people came to him, Warbeck's confeſſion.

[86] Hall, f. 49.

and

A.D. 1498. and affirmed that he was the earl of Warwick who had formerly been at Dublin; which he denied, and made oath before the mayor, that he was not that earl: that they then affirmed he was the natural ſon of Richard III.; which he alſo denied with many oaths: but at length, by their importunity, and giving him aſſurance of the ſupport of the earls of Deſmond and Kildare, they prevailed upon him to perſonate Richard duke of York. Theſe gentlemen, he ſaid, put him to learn Engliſh, and inſtructed him how to ſpeak and act in his new character. If this be true, it exculpates the ducheſs of Burgundy from being the contriver of this impoſture, and the inſtructreſs of this impoſtor. In a word, the people were diſappointed and diſſatisfied with this confeſſion, as it did not give them the ſatisfactory information they expected [87].

A.D. 1499. Warbeck executed. When Warbeck had remained ſome months in the Tower, he formed a ſcheme for effecting an eſcape; gained four of his keepers, and communicated his deſign to his unhappy fellow-priſoner, Edward Plantagenet earl of Warwick, who agreed to accompany him in his flight. This plot being diſcovered, Warbeck was tried for attempting to eſcape out of priſon, with a deſign to excite a new inſurrection, found guilty, and hanged at Tyburn, 23d November, A. D. 1499; with John O'Water, late mayor of Cork, one of his moſt zealous accompliçes. From the ſcaffold on which he was executed, Warbeck read his former confeſſion to

[87] See Warbeck's Confeſſion, Appendix, No. II.

the

the people, with a declaration that it was true[88]. A.D. 1499. Thus died this extraordinary perſon, concerning whoſe real birth and character ſuch different opinions have been entertained, ſo much has been ſaid and written, and ſo much is ſtill wanting to render that part of our hiſtory perfectly clear and ſatisfactory. My own private opinion, with the reaſons on which it is founded, I have thrown into the Appendix, N°. III., to prevent the interruption of the narrative by controverſy.

Earl of Warwick executed.

The earl of Warwick was brought to his trial, November 21ſt; and being accuſed of a conſpiracy againſt the king's perſon and government, he confeſſed the crime, (which he was incapable of committing,) and threw himſelf upon the king's mercy. But no mercy reſided in the unrelenting heart of Henry. Being condemned by his peers, who muſt bear their ſhare of the guilt and infamy of this barbarous murder, he was beheaded on Tower-hill, 28th November, A. D. 1499[89]. Thus fell, by the hands of the executioner, the laſt of the male line of the Plantagenets, who had reigned in England 331 years, from the acceſſion of Henry II. A. D. 1154, to the acceſſion of Henry VII. A. D. 1485. It would be difficult to find in hiſtory a more ill-fated prince than Edward earl of Warwick: without any crime but his high birth, he was confined in priſon from his childhood; denied all means of information, and all intercourſe with man; and finiſhed his wretched life by a violent death. Can any political conſiderations

[88] Hall, f. 51. Bacon, p. 194. [89] Hall and Bacon, ibid.

juſtify

A.D.1499. juſtify ſuch horrid cruelty, or ſcreen the perpetrators of it from the execration of poſterity? It brought much odium upon Henry at the time, of which he endeavoured to transfer a part to another artful tyrant, Ferdinand king of Spain, who refuſed to give his daughter in marriage to the prince of Wales while the earl of Warwick lived.

A.D.1500. Henry at Calais. In this and all the ſucceeding years of this reign, England was neither diſturbed by foreign invaſions nor internal inſurrections; and Henry was chiefly employed in ſtrengthening the bonds of peace between him and all the neighbouring princes; in amaſſing treaſure, which he had always moſt at heart; and in diſpoſing of his children in marriage. To avoid a dreadful peſtilence which raged in England this year, he ſailed with his queen and court to Calais, 8th May, and had an interview with Philip, archduke of Auſtria and ſovereign of Burgundy and Flanders, near that place. At this interview theſe two princes treated one another with the higheſt marks of reſpect, the warmeſt expreſſions of friendſhip, and the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the faithful obſervance of the commercial treaty which had lately been concluded. The archduke flattered the king agreeably, by calling him his father and protector. In a word, Henry was ſo well pleaſed, that he ſent a circumſtantial account of what had paſſed at this interview, to the mayor and aldermen of London, which occaſioned great rejoicing in the city. The peſtilence being now abated, the king, queen, and court returned to England in June [90].

[90] Hall, f. 51. Stowe, p. 481.

Henry

Henry lived in perfect harmony with Charles VIII. and his ſucceſſor Lewis XII., kings of France, ever ſince the peace of Eſtaples. Theſe princes being engaged in the wars of Italy, found it neceſſary to cultivate peace with England, and paid the annuity of 25,000 crowns, ſtipulated by that peace, with great punctuality. A.D. 1500.

To render the peace with Scotland more ſecure and permanent, which Henry very much deſired, a ſcheme was formed for uniting the royal families, by a marriage between king James and the princeſs Margaret, Henry's eldeſt daughter. This propoſal, as it was moſt decent, was made by James, and joyfully liſtened to by Henry. The terms of the contract of this marriage were ſoon and eaſily ſettled by the plenipotentiaries of the two kings. A diſpenſation from the pope was obtained in the month of July this year[91]. But as the royal bride was only in the eleventh year of her age, the marriage was not conſummated till about three years after. A treaty of marriage between Arthur prince of Wales and the princeſs Catherine, third daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella, king and queen of Spain, had been negotiated for ſeveral years, and was at laſt concluded, between the plenipotentiaries of the two kings, at Bewdley in the dioceſe of Hereford, 19th May, 1499; but the princeſs did not arrive in England till October 2d, 1501, and the marriage was celebrated with great pomp in St. Paul's, November 14th. Theſe two marriages, in the courſe of time, were productive Marriages.

[91] Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 765.

of

A.D.1500. of the moſt important conſequences. They were among the happieſt events in the annals of this iſland, and of unſpeakable advantage to both kingdoms [92]. The ſecond of theſe marriages proved the remote occaſion of the reformation of religion.

A.D.1501. Henry's arts of gaining money. Few princes have been better acquainted with the enriching arts of getting and keeping money than Henry VII. It would be endleſs, and indeed impoſſible, to enumerate all the arts of this kind which he put in practice; but it may be proper to mention a few of them. War, which empties the coffers of other princes, contributed greatly to fill thoſe of Henry. He well knew that his ſubjects conſidered the French and the Scots as their natural enemies, and that to propoſe a war with either of theſe nations, would procure an ample ſupply from his parliament. Such wars were therefore once and again propoſed; and when he had thereby obtained a ſupply, he immediately concluded a peace, and kept the money. The inſurrections with which he was haraſſed in the firſt years of his reign, he contrived to render no leſs lucrative, by the forfeitures of the noblemen and gentlemen concerned in them; and by exacting as heavy fines and compoſitions from thoſe of inferior rank who had favoured them, as they were able to bear. Many penal laws had been enacted in former ages, which, by the lapſe of time and the change of circumſtances, had become obſolete and forgotten. He employed in

[92] Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 756. 780.

his

his ſervice certain expert lawyers, who ſearched into theſe laws, and who employed innumerable ſpies in all parts of the kingdom, to diſcover thoſe who had tranſgreſſed them. Theſe unhappy perſons were apprehended and caſt into priſon, where they were long detained without being brought to trial; and, in the mean time, frequent alarms were given them of their danger, till they were brought to offer large compoſitions to obtain deliverance. Such of them as obſtinately refuſed to compound for their delinquency were tried; not before the ordinary courts of juſtice, but before commiſſioners appointed by the king for that purpoſe, who tried and condemned them in a ſummary manner, without juries and without witneſſes. Many gentlemen who had borne offices were accuſed before theſe commiſſioners of certain miſdemeanours, which it was pretended they had committed in the execution of their offices. The ſame arts were practiſed with thoſe gentlemen to bring them to offer compoſitions; and if they refuſed, they were tried, condemned, and ſeverely fined. For example, ſir William Capel, who had been lord mayor of London, was fined 2,700l, and, after a long ſtruggle, and remaining ſeveral years in priſon, was forced to compound for 1,600l; Thomas Kneſworth, mayor of London, and his two ſheriffs, ſuffered a long impriſonment, and at length obtained their deliverance by the payment of 1,400l; Chriſtopher Hawis, mercer and alderman of London, was ſo haraſſed by thoſe inquiſitors, that he died of a broken heart; ſir Lawrence Alemore and his two A.D. 1501.

A.D.1501. ſheriffs were fined 10001. and committed to priſon, but obtained their deliverance by the king's death [93]. The feudal ſyſtem of government had been long upon the decline in England; and the ſeveral preſtations drawn by thoſe who held their lands of the crown had, in ſome preceding reigns, been levied with leſs ſtrictneſs than formerly. But Henry compelled the tenants of the crown to pay the full amount of all theſe preſtations. Beſide this, many gentlemen who held their lands by other tenures, were brought before the king's commiſſioners, and compelled to ſubmit to the payment of all the feudal preſtations, to avoid greater inconveniencies, with which they were threatened.

Outlaws on perſonal actions were compelled to pay exorbitant ſums, before they could obtain their charters of pardon. Several laws were enacted which had a ſpecious appearance of promoting the public good, but in reality were only intended to increaſe the revenues of the crown. In a word, hardly any juſtice, and no favour, could be obtained from theſe commiſſioners of the king, without paying for it a very extravagant price. Theſe were a few of the arts by which this avaricious monarch haraſſed his ſubjects, and increaſed his treaſures. Sir Richard Empſon and Edmond Dudley, two bold unfeeling lawyers, with their ſpies and informers, were the chief inſtruments employed by Henry in theſe iniquitous tranſactions.

Earl of Oxford's compoſition.

So unrelenting was the avarice of this prince, that his beſt and moſt zealous friends, who had

[93] Stowe, p. 485.

done

done him the moſt eſſential ſervices, were not exempted from theſe exactions. John de Vere, earl of Oxford, had been a moſt zealous Lancaſtrian, and had done and ſuffered more for that cauſe than any other perſon. His great eſtate had been twice forfeited, and he had endured a long impriſonment in the caſtle of Hams, from which he had made his eſcape; joined Henry when he was earl of Richmond, in France; came over with him into England; and contributed greatly by his valour and military ſkill, to the victory at Boſworth. This nobleman entertained the king ſeveral days in a ſplendid and ſumptuous manner at his caſtle of Henningham. At the departure of his royal gueſt, the earl's ſervants, friends, and retainers, in their livery-coats and cogniſances, were ranged in two lines, between which he was to paſs. The king obſerving their rich dreſſes and prodigious numbers, called to the earl and ſaid, "My lord, I have heard much of "your hoſpitality; but I ſee it is greater than the "ſpeech. Theſe handſome gentlemen and yeomen, which I ſee on both ſides of me, are ſure "your menial ſervants." The earl ſmiled, and ſaid, "It may pleaſe your grace, that were not "for mine eaſe; they are moſt of them my re-"tainers, that are come to do me ſervice at ſuch "a time as this, and chiefly to ſee your grace." The king ſtarted a little, and ſaid, "By my faith, "my lord, I thank you for your good cheer, but "I may not endure to have my laws broken in "my ſight; my attorney muſt ſpeak with you." A.D. 1501.

A.D. 1501. The earl was accordingly profecuted for tranſgreſſing the laws againſt retainers, and forced to compound for no leſs than 15,000 marks [94]. Henry did not only graſp with eagerneſs at great forfeitures and compoſitions, but was attentive to the moſt trifling gains. Of this the noble hiſtorian of this reign gives us the following remarkable example: "I remember to have ſeen," ſays he, "a book of accounts of Empſon's, that had the "king's hand almoſt to every leaf by way of "ſigning, and was in ſome places poſtilled in the "margin with the king's hand likewiſe, where "was this remembrance: *Item*, Received from "ſuch a one five marks, for a pardon to be pro-"cured; and if the pardon do not paſs, the "money to be repaid, except the party be ſome "otherways ſatisfied." "And over againſt this "memorandum, in the king's own hand, OTHER-"WAYS SATISFIED [95]."

Arts of ſaving money. Henry excelled no leſs in the arts of ſaving than of obtaining money; the expences of his houſehold were regulated by the moſt ſtrict and correct œconomy. He conſtituted his ſecond ſon, Henry duke of York, warden of the marches towards Scotland, and lord lieutenant of Ireland, when he was only two years of age. In the management of his greateſt affairs, and in his embaſſies to foreign courts, he chiefly employed clergymen, and rewarded them with preferments in the church, inſtead of money, &c. &c. By theſe, and other arts of the ſame kind, this

94 Bacon, p. 211. 95 Ibid. p. 212.

prince

prince collected a greater maſs of money than ever was in the poſſeſſion of any former king of England. This, it is ſaid, at length amounted to 1,800,000l. in money, beſide plate and jewels, all which he kept with the moſt anxious care in ſecret apartments of his palace at Richmond, under his own lock and key. A.D. 1501.

Arthur prince of Wales, and the princeſs Catherine of Spain his conſort, ſoon after their marriage, were conducted to the caſtle of Ludlow, the place appointed for their ſtated reſidence; there, in the ſpring of the year, the prince fell into a diſtemper, of which he died, April the 2d. This event, no doubt, affected Henry as a parent; but it ſeems to have afflicted him full as much from his apprehenſions of the loſs of money it was likely to occaſion. The fortune of the princeſs was 200,000 crowns, of which Henry had received 100,000. Her dowry, as princeſs dowager of Wales, was to be one third part of the revenues of the principality of Wales, of the dukedom of Cornwall, and earldom of Cheſter. If the princeſs were ſent back to Spain, that part of her fortune which had been received muſt have been returned; and it might alſo have weakened that ſtrict union which had long ſubſiſted between the courts of Spain and England. If ſhe continued to reſide in England, ſhe muſt have enjoyed her dower. Neither of theſe alternatives could be agreeable to a prince of Henry's diſpoſition. A.D. 1502. Death of prince Arthur.

To avoid theſe inconveniences, Henry formed the extraordinary ſcheme of a marriage between Projected marriage.

A.D. 1502. his only ſurviving ſon Henry duke of York, then in the eleventh year of his age, and the widow of his late brother prince Arthur; though ſhe had cohabited with that prince five months, and from an apprehenſion that ſhe might be with child, the king abſtained ſeveral months from creating his ſon Henry, prince of Wales. This extraordinary project being communicated to Ferdinand and Iſabella, king and queen of Spain, met with their approbation, and ſteps were ſoon after taken to carry it into execution.

Earl of Suffolk.

Henry's hatred and jealouſy of the houſe of York ſtill continued unabated. John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, died A. D. 1491; leaving Edmond de la Pole his ſon and heir. But Henry diſputed the ſucceſſion to the eſtate and honours of his family, and forced him to a compromiſe, by which he was permitted to enjoy the title of the earl of Suffolk, and the eſtate of that earldom [96]. This nobleman had the misfortune to kill a man in a ſudden guſt of paſſion, for which he was arraigned and tried in the court of King's Bench, and then obtained a pardon. Diſguſted at theſe injuries and affronts, he went out of the kingdom without leave, to the court of Margaret ducheſs dowager of Burgundy, his aunt. Henry, by ſending him ſolemn promiſes of forgiveneſs and good uſage, prevailed upon him to return to England, A. D. 1501. But the earl having contracted a heavy load of debt, by his extravagant expences at the marriage of prince Arthur, he became uneaſy, and

96 Rotuli Parliamentorum, tom. vi. p. 474, &c.

fled

fled into Flanders in the ſpring of this year. A.D.1502. Henry now became apprehenſive that he had accomplices in England, and that an inſurrection was intended; he therefore directed ſir Robert Curſon, governor of the caſtle of Hams, to join the earl of Suffolk at Bruſſels, inſinuate himſelf into his favour, and diſcover his deſigns and accomplices. In conſequence of informations ſent by this emiſſary, the lord William Courteney, brother to the earl of Devonſhire, ſir James Tyrrel, ſir John Wyndham, and ſome other gentlemen, were apprehended, tried and found guilty of treaſon. Sir James Tyrrel and ſir William Wyndham were beheaded on Tower-hill, May 6th, 1502. The unhappy earl of Suffolk, on the death of his aunt Margaret, was reduced to great diſtreſs, and wandered about in France and Germany, but was at length permitted by the archduke of Auſtria to reſide privately in Flanders [97].

A.D.1503. Death of the queen.

Henry ſuſtained another loſs in his family by the death of his amiable conſort, queen Elizabeth, on Saturday, February 11th, A. D. 1503. She had been delivered of a daughter upon Candlemas-day preceding, and her child ſurvived her only a few days. As this princeſs had never gained the affection of her huſband, it is probable that her death did not give him much concern; and he ſoon after began to think of a ſecond marriage [98].

Marriage.

Henry and the king and queen of Spain having given full powers to their plenipotentiaries to ne-

97 Bacon, p. 203. Hall, f. 54. Stowe, p. 484.

98 Stowe, p. 484.

A.D. 1503. gotiate the contract of a marriage between prince Henry, lately created prince of Wales, and Catherine princeſs dowager of Wales, his late brother's widow, that contract was ſigned June 23d, A. D. 1503; but as the prince was then hardly twelve years of age, the conſummation of the marriage was ſeveral years delayed, and did not actually take place till after the death of the king his father; though a papal diſpenſation for it was granted December 26th, A. D. 1503[99].

A.D. 1504. Parliament. One of the preſtations due by thoſe who held their lands of the crown *in capite*, by the feudal ſyſtem of government, was an aid to the king for knighting his eldeſt ſon, and marrying his eldeſt daughter. Henry had knighted his eldeſt ſon, prince Arthur, before his marriage; and had lately married his eldeſt daughter, the princeſs Margaret, to the king of Scotland; and would not ſuffer ſuch an opportunity of getting money to eſcape. He therefore called a parliament, which met at Weſtminſter on the 25th of January, of which Edmond Dudley, the moſt hated man in the kingdom, was choſen ſpeaker: ſo abſolute was Henry now become. The parliament, to avoid the trouble and perplexity of levying theſe obſolete aids, according to the antient cuſtom, made him a grant of 40,000l. of which he was graciouſly pleaſed to remit 10,000l., and was ſtill a conſiderable gainer. At this parliament too, ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen were attainted, and their eſtates forfeited; ſome of them for offences of a very old date. Among theſe were, Edmond earl of Suffolk, the

[99] Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 75, &c. Bacon, p. 216.

lord William Courteney, ſir James Tyrrel, ſir George Nevil, ſir Thomas Wyndham, &c. Not contented with theſe grants and forfeitures, Henry appointed commiſſioners for a general benevolence, though he was engaged in no war, nor involved in any troubles which could occaſion an extraordinary expence [100]. A.D. 1504.

Henry, after ſome time ſpent in deliberation, fixed upon the queen dowager of Naples, who had a very large dower aſſigned her by her late huſband, king Ferdinand, for his ſecond wife: but he reſolved to proceed with caution. He ſent three gentlemen to Naples, not inveſted with any public character, but furniſhed with letters from the princeſs of Wales, which procured them acceſs to the intended bride. He gave theſe gentlemen very particular directions to obſerve attentively the complexion, ſtature, health, temper, inclinations, and behaviour of the queen, and to examine into the ſtate and value of her dower. Theſe gentlemen made a very favourable report of the perſon and character of the queen; but informed him, that the reigning king of Naples had deprived her of her dower, and had granted her a moderate penſion for life. This extinguiſhed Henry's love in a moment, and put an end to that project [101]. A.D. 1505. Marriage.

Philip archduke of Auſtria had married the princeſs Jane, eldeſt ſurviving daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella, king and queen of Spain. That princeſs, by the death of her mother Iſabella, A.D. 1506. King of Caſtile in England.

100 Rotuli Parliamentorum, tom. vi. p. 532, &c.

101 [illegible].com, p. 218, &c.

A.D.1506. heireſs of Caſtile, was become the heireſs of that kingdom; her father Ferdinand of Arragon had been appointed adminiſtrator of Caſtile, by the laſt will of his deceaſed conſort: but the archduke, intending to hold the poſſeſſion of the crown of Caſtile with his father-in-law, embarked, with his conſort and court, on the 10th of January, for Spain; but his fleet was diſperſed by a violent ſtorm, and his own ſhip with much difficulty got into the port of Weymouth, January 26th. Philip and queen Jane being extremely ſick, went on ſhore, contrary to the advice of his council.

As ſoon as Henry was informed of this event, he ſent the earl of Arundel, with a ſplendid retinue, to compliment Philip and the queen, and aſſure them that his ſovereign was on the way to wait upon them. Philip, finding that it would be impoſſible for him to avoid the king's viſit, immediately ſet out for Windſor, where he was received by Henry with every poſſible demonſtration of reſpect and friendſhip [102].

Treaty. Henry, having the archduke and his conſort, the queen of Caſtile, now in his poſſeſſion, began to ruminate upon what advantage might be derived from this accident. Among other things, he prevailed upon Philip, who could deny him nothing, to make a new commercial treaty, much more advantageous to the Engliſh than the former, which had been called by the people of the Low Countries *intercurſus magnus*, or the great treaty: this was called by them *intercurſus malus*, or the bad treaty [103].

[102] Bacon, p. 223. [103] Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 116.

Henry

Henry then intimated to Philip his deſire to marry his ſiſter Margaret ducheſs dowager of Savoy. To this Philip cheerfully conſented. Thomas Wolſey, then chaplain to the king, who afterwards made ſo diſtinguiſhed a figure, was employed to negotiate this treaty, which was concluded at Windſor, March 20th. By this treaty, Philip engaged to give with the ducheſs, his ſiſter, 300,000 crowns of gold, and an yearly penſion of 3,850 crowns. By the treaty it was agreed, for the further ſecurity of the money, that the principal lords of the Low Countries ſhould become bound by oath for the payment [104]. A.D. 1506. Treaty of marriage.

Henry, not yet contented with theſe advantages, preſſed Philip to deliver Edmond de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, into his hands; and Philip expreſſing great reluctance to betray a nobleman who had truſted in his protection, Henry gave him aſſurances that he would not put the earl to death, and contrived to make his return to England appear voluntary. He was accordingly brought to Dover, delivered to Henry, and committed to the Tower; he having given his conſent to return, upon being aſſured of his life. Henry, after inveſting Philip with the order of the garter, and entertaining him magnificently about three months, having obtained all the advantages he could expect, ſuffered him to purſue his voyage into Spain [105]. Earl of Suffolk.

When Philip was in England, ſome propoſals were made of a marriage between his ſon, Charles prince of Caſtile, and the princeſs Mary, Henry's youngeſt daughter; and ambaſſadors were appointed A.D. 1507. Treaty of marriage.

[104] Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 126—132. [105] Bacon, p. 223.

to

A.D.1507. to negotiate that treaty, which was at length concluded and ſigned at Calais, December 21ſt, A. D. 1507. By this treaty it was ſtipulated, that Charles ſhould marry the princeſs as ſoon as he was fourteen years of age, and her fortune was fixed at 250,000 crowns of gold. Such advantageous bargains did Henry make, that, though an old man, he was to receive a much greater fortune with the ducheſs of Savoy than he was to give with his daughter Mary, to Charles, the youthful heir of all the extenſive dominions of Auſtria and Spain [106].

A.D.1508. Henry prepares for death. Henry had for ſome years paſt been much afflicted with the gout, and about this time fell into a declining ſtate of health, which gradually impaired his ſtrength, and threatened his diſſolution. This put an end to all his thoughts of marriage, and engaged him to make preparations for his approaching death, by acts of mercy, juſtice, and piety. Beſides granting a general pardon, excepting to thieves and murderers, and a few particular perſons, he paid the debts of all the priſoners in London and Weſtminſter who were confined for forty ſhillings, or under, and ſet them at liberty [107].

A.D.1509. Laſt will. Henry, perceiving the approaches of death, made his laſt will and teſtament, at his palace of Richmond, on the laſt day of March, A. D. 1509. Some of our hiſtorians had ſo good an opinion of this prince, that they aſſure us his ſoul aſcended to heaven as ſoon as it left his body [108]. But he does not ſeem to have entertained ſuch ſanguine hopes

[106] Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 271. [107] Hall, f. 51.
[108] Id. ibid. Bacon, p. 232.

himſelf,

himſelf, but rather to have been very apprehenſive of the pains of purgatory, if not of ſomething worſe. This appears from the whole ſtrain of his laſt will, which is, in many reſpects, a curious compoſition, and exhibits a lively picture of his mind at that awful ſeaſon. Diſquieted by a ſenſe of guilt and a dread of puniſhment, he fled to the arts of ſuperſtition for relief. But, accuſtomed to make good bargains, he took every poſſible precaution to ſecure a ſufficient number of maſſes and prayers of the beſt quality for his money. He directed his executors to cauſe two thouſand maſſes to be ſaid for his ſoul within a month after his deceaſe, at the rate of ſix-pence a-piece. He ordered them alſo to diſtribute 2000l. to priſoners and poor people of different denominations, upon condition that they prayed fervently for his ſoul by name. "And in this partie," ſaid he, "we "hertily deſire our executours to thinke and con- "ſidere howe neceſſarie behooful and howe profit- "able it is to dede folks to bee praied for." He had ſome time before entered into formal contracts with the clergy of all the cathedrals, conventual and collegiate churches, in the kingdom, to ſay a certain number of maſſes and prayers for certain ſums of money; and he now granted them, by his will, additional ſums, to engage them to ſay their maſſes with greater ſolemnity, and their prayers with greater fervency. To relieve his mind from the anxiety under which it laboured on account of his oppreſſive exactions, he conſtituted a number of commiſſioners, with authority to make A.D. 1509.

reſtitution

A.D. 1509. reſtitution to all whom he had injured and oppreſſed. But ſtill, to prevent impoſition, he directed them to make no reſtitution to any for what had been taken from them by courſe of law, which was the moſt common method of his oppreſſive exactions; and he appointed Empſon and Dudley, the two chief inſtruments of his oppreſſion, two of theſe commiſſioners. But it would be tedious to enumerate all the other arts he employed to preſerve his ſoul from thoſe puniſhments which he dreaded [109].

Death. Having languiſhed about three weeks after he made his will, he expired in his palace at Richmond, April 21ſt, A. D. 1509, in the 24th year of his reign, and 54th of his age.

Character. Henry VII. was in ſtature a little above the middle ſize, ſlender, ſtrong, and active. His deportment was, in general, grave, reſerved, and ſtately; but he could put on a ſmiling countenance, and aſſume a gracious engaging manner, when he ſaw convenient. In perſonal courage he was not defective, but it was attended with caution, and not of the impetuous enterpriſing kind. Though he ſometimes threatened, he never really intended to engage in any foreign war; becauſe he knew it was exceedingly expenſive, and peculiarly dangerous to a prince with a diſputed title and diſcontented ſubjects. From theſe conſiderations, rather than from timidity, he cultivated peace with all the neighbouring princes. In application to buſineſs

[109] See the Will of Henry VII. publiſhed by Thomas Aſtle, eſq. with an ingenious preface by the Editor.

he

he was indefatigable, and deſcended to the moſt minute details. He was his own miniſter, impenetrably ſecret in all his ſchemes, and preſcribed to his ſervants the parts they were to act, without acquainting them with his views. His underſtanding was good, but neither very quick nor comprehenſive: but he ſupplied the want of quickneſs by mature deliberation; and the ſucceſs with which all his meaſures were crowned, procured him the name of the Solomon of the age, and a very high reputation for wiſdom both at home and abroad. He has been highly admired for diminiſhing the exorbitant power of the great barons, which had often endangered the crown and oppreſſed the people. This he certainly endeavoured, and in part accompliſhed. But it was far from being a difficult taſk. The civil wars had ruined two-thirds of the great families, and at his acceſſion there were only twenty-ſeven temporal peers in England. The great defects in the character of this prince proceeded not from the weakneſs of his head, but the hardneſs of his heart, which was exceedingly ſelfiſh and unfeeling; little ſuſceptible of the impreſſions of love, friendſhip, pity, or any generous, benevolent affection. He was an unkind huſband to an aimable conſort; never had a friend, and ſeldom forgave an enemy. As a ſon, he treated his venerable mother with formal reſpect, but allowed her no influence; as a father, he was careful, but not affectionate; as a maſter, he was far from being generous. His vexatious exactions of various kinds, his ſeverity to ſir William Stanley, and his cruelty A.D. 1509.

A.D.1505. cruelty to the innocent earl of Warwick, have procured him, and not unjuſtly, the odious name of tyrant. An inordinate love of money, and an unrelenting hatred to the houſe of York, were his ruling paſſions, and the chief ſources of all his vices and of all his troubles.

SECTION II.

The Civil and Military Hiſtory of England, from the Acceſſion of Henry VIII. A. D. 1509. *to the Acceſſion of Edward* VI. A. D. 1547.

Acceſſion of Henry VIII.

FEW kings have aſcended their thrones with greater advantages, and fairer proſpects of a happy reign, than Henry VIII. of England. He was in his eighteenth year, handſome, healthy, ſtrong, and active; excelled in all faſhionable and manly exerciſes, had a taſte for the fine arts, and was learned for his time of life and the age in which he flouriſhed. His title to the crown was indiſputable; he was at peace with all his neighbours: his coffers overflowed with money, and his ſubjects were tranſported with joy at his acceſſion [110].

Wiſe meaſures.

The firſt meaſures of the young monarch were wiſe and popular. On the day after his father's death, when he was proclaimed in London, he retired to the Tower, to avoid the tumultuary acclamations of the people, and to enjoy leiſure to

[110] Lord Herbert's Hiſtory of Henry VIII. apud Kenet, vol. iii. p. 1.

attend

attend to buſineſs. By the advice, it is ſaid, of his wife and virtuous grandmother, Margaret counteſs of Richmond and Derby, he formed an excellent council, compoſed of men of eminent abilities, and long experience in buſineſs; and, though, from his age and temper, he was fond of pleaſurable amuſements, he frequently attended the meetings of his council, to gain ſome knowledge of his affairs. Two very popular proclamations were immediately publiſhed, the one confirming the general pardon that had been granted by the late king; the other inviting all who had been injured by the too rigorous execution of antiquated penal laws in the late reign, to lay their complaints before certain commiſſioners appointed to hear and redreſs their wrongs. Sir Richard Empſon and Edmond Dudley, eſq. the two deteſted inſtruments of thoſe vexatious proſecutions, were committed priſoners to the Tower, and many of their agents and informers to other priſons. Theſe meaſures gave univerſal ſatisfaction, and inſpired the people with the moſt ſanguine hopes of a mild adminiſtration [111]. A.D. 1509.

One of the firſt and moſt important affairs that engaged the attention of the council was, the marriage of the young king. He had been contracted, 23d June, A. D. 1503, to Catherine of Spain, his brother's widow, and a diſpenſation for the marriage had been obtained from the pope; but on the day in which he completed his fourteenth The king's marriage.

[111] Lord Herbert's Hiſtory of Henry VIII. apud Kenet, vol. iii. p. 2, 3.

year,

A.D.1509. year, he had proteſted againſt that contract: and it was now debated in council, whether he ſhould adhere to his proteſt, or fulfil the contract [112]. William Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury and chancellor of England, a wiſe and virtuous prelate, oppoſed the marriage as inceſtuous, and contrary to the laws of God, with which the pope, he ſaid, could not diſpenſe. But Richard Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, ſecretary and lord privy ſeal, with a great majority of the council, adviſed the king to proceed to the marriage, and enforced their advice by many ſtrong political and prudential arguments. Henry, with ſome reluctance, it is ſaid, complied with this advice; and this extraordinary marriage was ſolemnized at Greenwich, June 7th, A.D. 1509 [113]. A marriage which afterwards made a mighty noiſe, and produced effects altogether unexpected, and directly contrary to the intentions of thoſe who promoted it with the greateſt zeal. So ſhort-ſighted are the wiſeſt politicians, and ſo little do they know what will be the conſequences of their ſchemes! The pope, in particular, who granted the diſpenſation for this marriage, imagined he had thereby ſubjected Henry and his poſterity for ever to himſelf and his ſucceſſors; becauſe the legality of his marriage and their legitimacy would depend on the plenitude of the papal power. The effect, it will ſoon appear, was directly contrary to his expectations, and proved that, with all his pretenſions to infallibility, he ſaw no further into futurity than other men.

[112] Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 76—86. 89. [113] Ibid. p. 221.

The

The commiſſioners who had been appointed to hear the complaints of thoſe who had been injured in the late reign, ſoon found that it would not be ſo eaſy to repair the loſſes of the numerous complainers, as to gratify their revenge by puniſhing their oppreſſors. They therefore adopted that as the leaſt expenſive method, and made three of the moſt active and odious informers to ride through the principal ſtreets of London, June 6th, with their faces to the horſes tails, and then ſet them on the pillory, where they were ſo roughly uſed, that they all died ſoon after in priſon [114]. A. D. 1509. Informers puniſhed.

Great preparations having been made for the coronation of the king and queen, that ceremony was performed at Weſtminſter, June 24th, with extraordinary pomp, andat a prodigious expence both to the king and the nobility [115]. The coronation was followed by a ſucceſſion of tournaments and other ſplendid and expenſive diverſions, in which the young king ſpent much of his time and treaſures. Not contented with the guard eſtabliſhed by his father, he inſtituted a band of fifty ſpearmen, each ſpearman to have three great horſes for his own uſe, and to be attended by an archer, a demilance, and valet, all on horſeback. The ſpearmen were dreſſed in cloth of gold, and the trappings of their horſes were of the ſame coſtly materials [116]. In a word, Henry now diſcovered ſo ſtrong a paſſion for magnificence of all kinds, as threatened the ſpeedy diſſipation of all the money Coronation, &c.

114 Stowe, p. 487. 115 Hall, Henry VIII. fol. 2—4.
116 Ibid. fol. 5, 6.

A. D. 1509. ney which had been hoarded by his father. This gave no little concern to ſome of his miniſters, particularly to biſhop Fox, who loſt much of his influence at court, by his remonſtrance againſt this extravagance; and his rival, the earl of Surrey, lord treaſurer, gained the aſcendant by indulging the king's humour [117].

Death of the counteſs of Richmond.

Five days after his coronation, Henry ſuſtained a great loſs by the death of his excellent grandmother, for whom he had always entertained a very great regard and reverence; and who, if ſhe had lived ſome years longer, might have preſerved him from various errors, by her affectionate and prudent admonitions [118].

Treaties confirmed.

In the firſt year of his reign Henry confirmed the treaties which had been made by his father, with the emperor, the kings of France, Spain, and Scotland, and declared his reſolution to cultivate peace with all theſe princes [119]. How happy would it have been for him and his ſubjects, if he had adhered to that wiſe and virtuous reſolution!

Trials of Empſon and Dudley.

Though a few of the inferior agents in the late oppreſſions had been puniſhed, the people could not be ſatisfied while the two grand oppreſſors, Empſon and Dudley, remained alive. It was not ſo eaſy, however, to convict them, as it had been to convict their under-agents. They were both expert lawyers, had acted with great caution, and had carefully preſerved the orders they had received from their late maſter for all their tranſactions.

[117] Herbert, p. 4. [118] Stowe, p. 487.
[119] Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 257. 260, 261. 267.

When

When they were firſt brought before the council, A. D. 1509.
Empſon, who was equally bold and eloquent, made a noble defence for himſelf and his fellow-priſoner. "The crime," he ſaid, "of which "they were accuſed, and for which they were to "be tried, was of a very extraordinary nature. "Others were tried for violating the laws, but "they were to be tried for putting the laws in "execution, though they were bound to do ſo by "their offices, and by the expreſs commands of "their ſovereign, to whom the execution of the "law was committed by the conſtitution. If they "were to be ſacrificed to the clamours of thoſe "whom their duty had obliged them to puniſh, he "intreated that the cauſe of their ſufferings might "be kept a profound ſecret; becauſe if it was "known in foreign countries, it would be con-"cluded that all law and government were diſ-"ſolved in England [120]." In a word, it was ſoon found that it would be difficult, if not impoſſible, to convict theſe men of the crimes of which they had been really guilty, without bringing a heavy load of infamy on the memory of the late king, by whoſe direction and authority they had acted. It was reſolved, therefore, to try them for a crime for which they could plead no authority, but of which, it is probable, they were not guilty; truſting to the public odium under which they laboured for a verdict againſt them. Accordingly, Edmund Dudley was tried at Guildhall in London, July 16th, for high treaſon, and found guilty;

[120] Herbert, p. 3.

A. D. 1509. and ſir Richard Empſon was tried at Northampton, October 1ſt, for the ſame crime, and alſo found guilty. The ſame accuſation was brought againſt both; viz. that in March laſt, when the late king was ſick, they had engaged certain of their friends to be ready to appear in arms in London, as ſoon as the king died; whence it was inferred, that they had conſpired to ſeize the perſon of the young king, and either to rule him, or put him to death; than which inference nothing could be more improbable. After they were found guilty, they were committed to the Tower [121].

A. D. 1510. Wolſey introduced at court.

Richard Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, had been ſo long accuſtomed to court-favour and public buſineſs, that he ardently deſired to recover the influence which he had loſt; and with this view, he reſolved to introduce a perſon to the king who he hoped would prove a powerful coadjutor to himſelf, and a formidable competitor to his rival, the earl of Surrey. This was the famous Thomas Wolſey, ſo well known in hiſtory by the title of Cardinal Wolſey, who, from the humble ſtation of a butcher's ſon in Ipſwich, arrived at a degree of opulence, power, and influence, in the affairs of Europe, to which no Britiſh ſubject ever attained. Fox was well acquainted with Wolſey's great activity, captivating addreſs, and dexterity in buſineſs, from the ſucceſs with which he had executed ſome commiſſions in the late reign [122]; but the rapid progreſs he made in gaining the confidence

[121] Herbert, p. 4, 5.

[122] See Biographia Britannica, article Wolſey.

and

and favour of the young king, far exceeded his expectations and deſires: for though Henry was then only in his nineteenth, and Wolſey in his fortieth year, before he had been many months at court, he became his boſom friend, the companion of all his pleaſures, the repoſitory of all his ſecrets, the diſpenſer of all his favours, and at length his only confidential miniſter. The firſt office beſtowed on Wolſey was that of king's almoner, with a grant of all deodands and forfeitures for felony, to which many other offices, benefices, and grants were ſoon after added [123]. In November, A. D. 1510, he was admitted a member of the privy council, and from that time he was really prime miniſter. A. D. 1510.

The firſt parliament in this reign met at Weſtminſter, January 21ſt, A. D. 1510. The temporal peers ſummoned to this parliament were, one duke, one marquis, eight earls, and twenty-ſix barons [124]. Henry VII. was as frugal of his honours as of his money. William Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury and chancellor, made a ſpeech, or rather preached a ſermon, to both houſes, on this text: "Fear God and honour the king;" inſiſting chiefly on the laſt part of his text [125]. Receivers and triers of petitions, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, were then nominated. The commons choſe ſir Thomas Inglefield to be their ſpeaker, who was preſented to the king in the houſe of lords, January 23d, and accepted. At Parliament.

[123] Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 267. 269. Biographia Britannica.
[124] Parl. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 2. [125] Ibid. p. 3.

A. D. 1510. the ſame time an order was made, that both houſes ſhould meet at nine in the morning, for the diſpatch of buſineſs.

Proceedings in parliament.

The great object of this parliament was, to prevent the repetition of thoſe vexatious exactions and proſecutions which had occaſioned ſo much diſtreſs and diſcontent in the preceding reign. With this view, ſome of thoſe antiquated penal laws, on which theſe proſecutions had been founded, were repealed, and others explained, and their ſeverity mitigated [126]. With the ſame view, Empſon and Dudley, who had been already found guilty of high treaſon by a jury of their peers, were attainted by an act of parliament, and both beheaded on Tower-hill, Auguſt 17th, by a warrant extorted from the king by the clamours of the people [127]. To ſhew their affection to their youthful ſovereign, this aſſembly voluntarily granted him two tenths and two fifteenths, though he abounded in treaſure, and was at peace with all the world. An imprudent act, which ſerved only to encourage the young king in his extravagance.

Treaty.

A treaty of peace between Henry and Lewis XII. king of France, was concluded March 23d, A. D. 1510, to continue during the lives of the two kings, and great precautions were taken to render it ſecure [128]. But it will ſoon appear that all theſe precautions were in vain, and that this peace was of very ſhort duration. During the re-

126 See Statutes, 1 Hen. VIII.

127 Ibid. cap. iv. Parl. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 7, 8. Stowe, p. 488.

128 Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 270—275. 277—280. 286. 289.

mainder

mainder of this year, Henry had nothing to divert him from purſuing his pleaſures and diverſions, which he did with great ardour and at an immenſe expence. A. D. 1510.

On the firſt day of January, A. D. 1511, the queen was delivered of a ſon at Richmond, which gave univerſal joy to the whole kingdom, as well as to the king and court. But this joy was ſoon ſucceeded by ſorrow; for the young prince, who was named Henry, expired at the ſame place on February 23d[129]. Ferdinand of Spain, Henry's father-in-law now pretended to meditate an expedition againſt the Moors in Barbary, and ſolicited an aid of 1000 Engliſh archers, which was granted[130]. Theſe troops, which were eſteemed the beſt in Europe, landed at Calais June 1ſt, and were honourably received and entertained. But Ferdinand, having laid aſide this expedition, (which he never really intended,) they were ſoon after ſent home, well contented with their entertainment, and the valuable preſents they had received. Henry ſent a ſimilar aid of 1500 archers, this ſummer, to Margaret ducheſs of Savoy, governeſs of the Low Countries, for her nephew Charles, prince of Spain, who was at war with the duke of Guilders. Theſe troops, having done good ſervice at ſeveral ſieges, returned home at the end of the campaign[131]. A. D. 1511. Queen delivered of a ſon.

Though England at this time enjoyed a profound peace, which nothing ſeemed capable of diſturbing, Snares laid for Henry.

[129] Stowe, p. 488.
[130] Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 296.
[131] Stowe, p. 488.

A. D. 1511. the affairs of the continent were cruelly embroiled; and the moſt artful ſchemes were ſecretly formed to draw the rich and powerful, but young, raſh, and unſuſpecting Henry, into quarrels, with which he had no concern, and from the iſſue of which it was determined he ſhould reap no benefit. Theſe ſchemes were formed by his ſpiritual father the Pope, and his father-in-law Ferdinand of Spain, two perſons for whom he had the greateſt veneration; and their propoſals were ſo admirably adapted to work upon his reigning paſſions of vanity and ambition, that he was more to be pitied than blamed for falling into the ſnare.

Character of pope Julius II.

Pope Julius II. was unqueſtionably one of the moſt reſtleſs, ambitious, and faithleſs men that ever lived: and though he pretended to be the vicegerent of the meek and peaceful Saviour of mankind, he acted the part of a firebrand during his whole pontificate, and practiſed every art to kindle and keep alive the flames of war. He had been the chief inſtrument in forming the famous league of Cambray, for the deſtruction of the Venetians; and he now laboured, with equal ardour, to form a ſimilar league againſt the eldeſt ſon of the church and moſt virtuous prince of the age, Lewis XII. king of France, who, by his power in Italy, he apprehended would obſtruct the ſucceſs of the ſchemes he had formed for aggrandiſing the popedom, and his own family, with the ſpoils of his weaker neighbours. Into this league he propoſed to bring not only all the enemies, but all the allies, of the king of France; particularly the emperor Max-

Maximilian, and the kings of Spain and England. A. D. 1511.

It would be tedious to trace all the intricate mazes of the negotiations of his holineſs, with the emperor and the king of Spain, who were almoſt as artful and as perfidious as himſelf. It is ſufficient to ſay, that, after various intrigues, the holy father and his two dearly beloved ſons agreed upon this plan: that the pope, who, in conjunction with the Venetians, was already at open war with the king of France, ſhould launch the thunders of the church againſt that rebellious ſon and his ſubjects, who impiouſly dared to diſobey the common father of all Chriſtians; while the two monarchs ſhould continue to make the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of inviolable attachment to that prince, till the king of England was engaged in the league, and all the confederates were ready to fall upon him at once. The honourable office of deceiving the king of England, and drawing him into the league, was committed to his father-in-law, who performed it with great dexterity and ſucceſs [132]. Schemes of the pope, &c.

Ferdinand, by his ambaſſador at the court of England, communicated to Henry the plan of the league, as a mark of his confidence and paternal affection; and repreſented how honourable it would be, for a young prince of his great power and piety and learning to become the protector of the church; and how favourable an opportunity this was, of recovering the ancient dominions of his crown in France. To pleaſe him ſtill further, it Treaty.

[132] Thuanus, lib. i. F. Paul. Hiſt. Conc. Trent.

was

A. D. 1511. was promiſed that the pope would confer upon him the title of the Moſt Chriſtian King, which the king of France had forfeited; and that he ſhould be declared the head of the holy Italian league [133]. Theſe offers and propoſals were ſo flattering to Henry's bigotry, vanity, and ambition, that he yielded to the temptation, agreed to enter into the league, and to violate the treaty of peace with Lewis; to the faithful obſervance of which he had ſolemnly ſworn only a few months before. Having formed this reſolution, he began privately to prepare for war, and gave a commiſſion to ſeveral gentlemen in each county, June 20th, to array and exerciſe all the men at arms and archers in their county, and to make a return of their names, and the quality of their arms, before the firſt day of Auguſt [134]. The reſolution of declaring war againſt France, met with oppoſition in the council of England, on very ſolid grounds. "The natural ſituation of iſlands," it was ſaid, "ſeems not to ſort with conqueſts on the conti-"nent. If we will enlarge ourſelves, let it be in "the way for which Providence hath fitted us, "which is by ſea [135]." But Henry was ſo intoxicated with the thoughts of being the protector of the pope, and of the conqueſts he expected to make in France, that all oppoſition was in vain; and he concluded a treaty with his father-in-law, November 10th, A. D. 1511. The preamble of

[133] Pet. Martyr. Epiſt. p. 279. 462. Herbert, p. 8. Guicciard. l. 11.

[134] Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 300. [135] Herbert, p. 8.

this

this treaty affords a curious ſpecimen of political hypocriſy. After repreſenting Lewis XII. as an enemy to God and religion, and a cruel unrelenting perſecutor of the church, who deſpiſed all admonitions, and had even rejected the generous offer which the pope had made him, of the pardon of all his ſins, it proceeds in this pious ſtrain: "That "the two kings, knowing how detrimental this "conduct might prove to the catholic faith, the "church of God, and the welfare of Chriſtendom, "had thought proper to agree upon the following "articles, to the praiſe and glory of Almighty "God, of our lord Jeſus Chriſt, and of the whole "triumphant court of heaven." It is not indeed very eaſy to diſcover the connexion between the glory of God and the articles of this treaty, which were to this effect: That the two kings ſhould unite their forces to make a conqueſt of the province of Guienne, from a prince with whom they were united by the moſt ſolemn treaties, and who had given them no offence [136]. A. D. 1511.

In this treaty Ferdinand affected to appear perfectly diſintereſted, and to have nothing at heart but the aggrandiſement of the king of England, by the acquiſition of Guienne. But this was far from being the intention of that ſelfiſh perfidious prince, who contrived to make the expedition turn entirely to his own advantage, and to the great loſs and mortification of his dearly-beloved ſon. Perfidy of Ferdinand.

Henry, having now reſolved upon a war with France, ſummoned a parliament, which met at A. D. 1512. Parliament.

[136] Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 312, &c.

Weſt.

A.D. 1512. Weſtminſter, February 4th, A. D. 1512, and was opened by William Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, chancellor, with a ſermon on theſe words: "Righteouſneſs and peace kiſſed each other." On which (ſays an ancient hiſtorian) he preached a long hour and a half, to his great commendation, and the ſingular comfort of his hearers [137]. No mention was made of the intended war till the fifteenth day of the parliament, when the chancellor diſcloſed to the lords the ſecret reaſon for which it had been called, and cauſed an apoſtolic brief to be read, containing a long detail and bitter complaints of the grievous injuries which the king of France had done to the pope and church of Rome. The chancellor, the treaſurer, and ſome other lords, were ſent to make the ſame diſcovery to the commons [138].

Proceedings. The proſpect of a war with France was exceedingly pleaſing to the people of England in this period. The remembrance of the glorious victories their anceſtors had gained, and the great eſtates they had poſſeſſed in that kingdom, was freſh in their minds, and they fondly hoped to gain ſimilar victories and eſtates. The parliament, therefore, entered with great alacrity into the king's views, and granted two tenths and two fifteenths, to be levied from the laity, and the clergy in convocation granted a ſubſidy of twenty-three thouſand pounds [139]. Then the parliament, after ſitting forty-nine days, was prorogued to November 4th.

[137] Journals, vol. i. p. 10. Stowe, p. 490. [138] Journals, p. 13.
[139] Wilkins Concil. tom. iii. p. 852.

Henry

Henry being now amply furniſhed with the ſinews of war, raiſed an army of ten thouſand men, chiefly archers, with a train of artillery. This army, commanded in chief by the marquis of Dorſet, embarked at Southampton May 16th and landed at Guipiſcoa. They were received and treated with reſpect, but ſaw no appearance of the Spaniſh army they expected to join them on their landing. After they had remained a month in their camp, they received a meſſage from Ferdinand, intreating them to have a little patience, and his army would join them in a ſhort time to undertake the ſiege of Bayonne. But he had a very different object in view [140]. A. D. 1512. Expedition into Spain.

John D' Albert, king of Navarre, was in ſtrict alliance with the king of France, and on that account had been excommunicated by the pope, and his kingdom offered to any prince who would take poſſeſſion of it. This kingdom lay conveniently for Ferdinand; and therefore, inſtead of joining his forces to the Engliſh for the conqueſt of Guienne, commanded his general, the duke of Alva, to invade Navarre, with the army he had raiſed, under pretence of an expedition againſt the Moors. To facilitate the ſucceſs of this enterpriſe, he amuſed the weak unfortunate king John with deluſive negotiations for a peace, while the French were engaged in ſecuring Guienne againſt the expected invaſion. The Spaniſh army met with little oppoſition, and made a conqueſt of Navarre in a few months [141]. While the Spaniſh army was

[140] Stowe, p. 488. [141] Pet. Martyr. Epiſt. 563. 570. &c.

employed

A. D. 1512. employed in the conqueſt of Navarre, the ſituation of the Engliſh in their camp at Fontarabia was exceedingly diſagreeable. Too weak to attempt the ſiege of Bayonne, or engage in any important enterpriſe, they remained idle in their camp, enraged at their perfidious ally, and brooding over their blaſted hopes of conqueſt. Being ill-ſupplied with proviſions, and making too free with the wines of the country, diſeaſes broke out among them, of which ſeveral hundreds died. In the mean time, Ferdinand was not aſhamed to importune the marquis of Dorſet, by frequent meſſages, to join the Spaniſh army, and aſſiſt in the conqueſt of Navarre: but the marquis reſiſted all theſe importunities, as being directly contrary to his commiſſion and inſtructions; and was no leſs importunate in demanding ſhips to tranſport his army back to England, which Ferdinand was obliged, by treaty, to furniſh when demanded. At length, when the conqueſt of Navarre was completed, and the preſence of the Engliſh was no longer neceſſary to keep the French at bay, and prevent their oppoſing the progreſs of the Spaniards, ſhips were provided, the Engliſh army embarked, and arrived in their own country in December, diſcontented, diſpirited, and diminiſhed in their numbers [142]. Thus ended this compaign in which Ferdinand gained a kingdom, and Henry got nothing but diſgrace and loſs.

Sea-fight. Henry, at the ſame time that he ſent his army into Spain, fitted out a fleet of ſixteen ſtout ſhips,

[142] Hall, f. 20. Herbert, p. 9.

com-

commanded by ſir Edward Howard, the lord admiral: who, having conveyed the tranſports with the troops till they were out of danger, cruiſed in the channel, took many merchant ſhips, made ſeveral deſtructive deſcents on the coaſts of France, and then returned to Southampton. The fleet being there ſupplied with water and proviſions, and joined by another ſquadron of twenty-five ſail, put to ſea again; and having fallen in with the French fleet conſiſting of thirty-nine ſail, Auguſt 10th, a fierce conflict immediately enſued. In the heat of the action the Regent, of one thouſand tons, the largeſt ſhip in the Engliſh navy, grappled with the French admiral, which taking fire, both ſhips were preſently involved in flames, and all on board, to the number of ſeventeen hundred men, periſhed. The two hoſtile fleets were ſo much aſtoniſhed at this deplorable and ſudden deſtruction of ſo many brave men, that they ſeparated, as if it had been by mutual conſent, without any further fighting [14]. A. D. 1512.

The parliament met again November 4th, the day to which it had been prorogued; and as the king was actually engaged in an expenſive war with France, and was preparing for a war with Scotland, they granted him two tenths and two fifteenths, beſide an aid of 160,000 l. to be raiſed by a poll-tax on perſons of all denominations, at rates proportioned to their rank and circumſtances. In this ſeſſion ſeveral ladies, lords, and gentlemen, (and among others, Thomas, ſon and heir of ſir Richard Empſon), whoſe parents and anceſtors Parliament.

[14] Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 327. Hall, f. 20.

had

A. D. 1512. had been condemned for treaſon, and their eſtates forfeited, were reſtored to their honours and fortunes [144]. The parliament was then prorogued to November 7th, A. D. 1513.

A. D. 1513. Pope's death. Though the preceding campaign had been unprofitable to Henry, it had been very pernicious to the king of France. By his withdrawing the greateſt part of his troops from Italy, for the defence of his kingdom, he loſt the duchy of Milan, Parma, and Placentia, which had coſt France much blood and treaſure to acquire. While pope Julius II. was rejoicing in theſe events, and keenly engaged in forming a powerful confederacy againſt France, he was overtaken by death, on February 21ſt, A. D. 1513, and was ſucceeded in the papal chair, March 11th, by cardinal John de Medici, who took the name of Leo X. [145]

Confederacy againſt France. The new pope proſecuted the ſchemes of his predeceſſor, for expelling the French out of Italy, enlarging the papal dominions, and ſecuring the ſovereignty of Florence to his own family. The negotiations which had for ſome time been carried on at Mechlin with great ſecrecy, for forming a confederacy between the pope, the emperor, and the kings of Spain and England, againſt France, were brought to a concluſion, and the league was ſigned by the plenipotentiaries, April 5, A. D. 1513. By the league the pope engaged to invade France in Provence or Dauphiny, and to fulminate the thunders of the church againſt the king of France and all his allies. The emperor engaged to invade

[144] Rolls, 4 Hen. VIII. [145] Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 249.

France, or ſome other territories belonging to the king of France out of Italy. To enable him to do this, the king of England was to pay him 100,000 gold crowns. The king of Spain engaged to invade Bearn, Guienne, or Languedoc, and the king of England, Guienne, Normandy, or Picardy. All the invading armies were to be ſtrong and well appointed. None of the confederates were to make a truce or peace with the common enemy, without the conſent of all the reſt. The emperor and the king of England were to ratify this treaty within one month, the pope and king of Spain within two months [146]. A.D. 1513.

Perfidy of the confederates.

Henry was highly pleaſed with this treaty, and entertained the moſt ſanguine hopes of victories and conqueſts, by the aid of theſe powerful allies. But in this he was much miſtaken. None of his allies intended to invade France, or to fulfil any of their engagements, but that of receiving his money. Knowing his youthful ardour and ambition, as well as his power and wealth, their object was to engage him in a war with France, from which each of them hoped to derive advantages, without any expence or trouble. So ſhameful was the duplicity of Ferdinand, his father-in-law, that he was negotiating a truce for one year in his own name, and in the name of his allies, the emperor and the king of England, with the king of France and his allies, the king of Scotland and duke of Guilders, at the ſame time that he was negotiating the above confederacy againſt France, and both theſe treaties

[146] Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 354.

A.D. 1513. (ſo contradictory to one another) were concluded, ſigned, and ſworn to with great ſolemnity, by his plenipotentiaries, at different places, almoſt on the ſame day [147]. This he eſteemed a maſterly ſtroke in politics; but it certainly deſerved a very different name.

Henry prepares for a war with Scotland.

As ſoon as Henry had reſolved on a war with France, he laboured earneſtly to ſecure the continuance of peace with Scotland. But all his endeavours were in vain. King James complained that he had been unkindly and even unjuſtly treated by his brother-in-law, in ſeveral particulars. Greater attention was now paid to theſe complaints than formerly; offers of redreſs and ſatisfaction were made, and commiſſioners appointed, on both ſides, to adjuſt all differences. But theſe commiſſioners could come to no agreement [148]. The truth is, that king James had ſecretly reſolved to ſupport the antient allies of his family and country, and concluded a treaty with the king of France, 22d May, A. D. 1512, in which the two monarchs agreed to aſſiſt and ſupport one another with all their power againſt all men. He endeavoured, however, to conceal his hoſtile intention againſt England, that his country might not be made the ſeat of the war. But the Engliſh miniſters were not deceived. They ſaw plainly that a war with Scotland was unavoidable, and Henry gave a commiſſion to the earl of Surrey, Auguſt 6th, A. D. 1512, to array all the fencible men in York-

[147] Rym. Fœd. tom. xiij. p. 350.

[148] Ibid. p. 309. 332. 347. Hollingſhed, p. 295, 296.

ſhire,

ſhire, and the other five northern counties, and to have them in conſtant readineſs to oppoſe the Scots [149]. Negotiations for an accommodation were ſtill carried on, and Henry gave one commiſſion, February 2d, A. D. 1513, to William lord Conyers and ſir Robert Drury, to treat with the commiſſioners of the king of Scotland, with power to promiſe the redreſs of all grievances; and another to lord Dacre and doctor Weſt, to the ſame purpoſe, February 15th [150]. But theſe negotiations were unſucceſsful. A.D. 1513.

Henry ſpent the firſt five months of this year in making every poſſible preparation for a vigorous offenſive war with France, and defenſive war with Scotland. For though he had no real ground of quarrel with either of theſe powers, he was ſo deluded by the promiſes of his deceitful allies, and by the vain ambition of appearing the great protector of the pope and church, that he embarked in theſe wars with the greateſt ardour and the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs. About the middle of May the earl of Shrewſbury conducted eight thouſand men to Calais, and was followed by lord Herbert with ſix thouſand, about the end of that month [151]. With theſe troops they inveſted Tiruenne, a ſtrong town in Artois, June 22d. The king, having appointed the queen regent of the kingdom, ſailed from Dover June 30th, and landed at Calais the ſame evening, attended by an army of twelve thouſand men, his favourite Wolſey, now his prime mi- Expedition into France.

[149] Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 339. [150] Ibid. p. 346, 347.
[151] Ibid. p. 370.

A.D.1513. niſter, and a gallant train of noblemen and gentlemen, impatient to diſplay their courage under the eye of their youthful ſovereign.

Tiruenne was bravely defended by a numerous garriſon; and a report prevailing that the duke of Longueville was advancing with an army to its relief, Henry marched from Calais July 21ſt, and arrived in the camp before Tiruenne with eleven thouſand men Auguſt 4th. The emperor Maximilian, who, as well as the other confederates, had made no preparation for invading France, was not aſhamed to inliſt in the ſervice of the king of England at the rate of 100 crowns a-day, and proved an uſeleſs expenſive ſoldier, and moſt pernicious counſellor. On the approach of the duke of Longueville, Henry drew out to meet him, and an action enſued Auguſt 19th, commonly called *the battle of the ſpurs*, in which the Engliſh obtained an eaſy victory: for the French cavalry, ſeized with a panick, uſed their ſpurs inſtead of their ſwords, and galloping off, left their general and ſeveral brave officers in the hands of their enemies [152]. The garriſon of Tiruenne, deſpairing of any relief, ſurrendered the place on honourable terms Auguſt 22d. This conqueſt, which had coſt Henry an immenſe ſum of money, was diſmantled and deſtroyed, by the intereſted advice of the emperor, that its garriſon might no longer infeſt the contiguous territories of his ſon, Charles duke of Burgundy.

[152] Herbert, p. 16. Peter Martyr, ep. 526, 527.

Henry

Henry was again miſled by the emperor, whoſe age, dignity, and cunning gave him ſuch an aſcendant, that he directed all the motions of the Engliſh army to promote his own views. Inſtead of taking advantage of the conſternation into which the French were thrown by their late defeat, he proceeded in great ſtate, by ſlow marches, and inveſted the populous city of Tournay, September 22d. The citizens of Tournay enjoyed ſeveral peculiar privileges, and, among others, that of defending their own city; for which, on this occaſion, they diſcovered themſelves to be very unfit. They ſurrendered a few days after they were ſummoned, agreeing to pay 50,000 crowns immediately, 4000 livres a-year for ten years, and to admit an Engliſh garriſon [153]. A.D. 1513. Tournay taken.

On the ſame day that Tournay ſurrendered, Henry received the important news of the death of James IV. who had been ſlain September 9th, in the memorable battle of Flowden-field, of which a circumſtantial account ſhall be given in the Hiſtory of Scotland. Death of James IV.

Henry was greatly elated by this flow of ſucceſs, and kept a moſt magnificent court at Tournay. He was there viſited by Margaret governeſs of the Low Countries, and her nephew Charles prince of Spain, with a ſplendid train of lords and ladies, who were all ſumptuouſly feaſted, and nobly entertained with tournaments and other diverſions, for fourteen days, at an incredible expence [154]. Henry returned this viſit, October 11th, to the Confederacy.

[153] Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 377. Herbert, p. 17.
[154] Hall, f. 45. Rym. p. 379.

A.D. 1513. court of Burgundy at Liſle, where he ſpent ſeveral days in the diverſions of thoſe times. While the princes and their courtiers were engaged in theſe amuſements, their miniſters were employed in negotiating a new treaty of confederacy againſt France, which was ſigned and ſealed by the king of England at Liſle, October 15th. By this treaty it was ſtipulated, 1. That, as winter was approaching, the king of England, after leaving a ſufficient garriſon in Tournay, might retire with his army into his own dominions. 2. That the emperor ſhould keep on foot an army of ſix thouſand infantry and four thouſand cavalry, during the winter and ſpring, for the defence of the Low Countries, the further ſecurity of Tournay, and for haraſſing the frontiers of France; and that Henry, to enable him to do this, ſhould pay him 30,000 crowns of gold on the laſt day of each of the ſix winter and ſpring months, and 20,000 in May; in all 200,000. 3. That, by the firſt of June next, the emperor and the king of England ſhould invade France, each at the head of a powerful army, and neither make peace nor truce but by mutual conſent. 4. That the emperor, his daughter the archduchefs Margaret, his grandſon Charles duke of Burgundy, the king of England, his queen, and his ſiſter the princeſs Mary, ſhould all meet at Calais about the middle of May, and there ſolemnize the marriage of Charles and Mary[155]. In this tranſaction all was ſincerity on the ſide of

[155] Hall, f. 45. Rym. p. 379.

Henry,

Henry, and all the groſſeſt diſſimulation on the part of his confederates. A.D. 1513.

The biſhopric of Tournay had been lately vacant, and the biſhop-elect refuſing to ſwear fealty to the conqueror, Henry beſtowed that rich ſee, with the abbey of St. Martin's, in the ſame city, *in commendam*, on his almoner and favourite, Thomas Wolſey, who attended him in that expedition. This was a ſtrong mark of the king's eſteem and friendſhip, which was ſoon followed by many others [156]. Wolſey biſhop of Tournay.

Henry, having left ſir Edward Poynings with a competent garriſon in Tournay, marched the reſt of his army to Calais, where he embarked November 24th, and landed at Dover the ſame day. Thence he proceeded to Richmond, where the queen reſided, and beſtowed rewards and honours on ſeveral lords and gentlemen, who had attended him in France, or had fought under the earl of Surrey againſt the Scots [157]. In the diſtribution of rewards Wolſey was not neglected. He was appointed biſhop of Lincoln, and the rich abbey of Saint Albans was given him *in commendam*. Henry returns to England.

In this campaign the Engliſh had behaved every where with their uſual bravery, and their arms had been crowned with ſucceſs; but that ſucceſs, though purchaſed at an immenſe expence, was of no advantage to their country. They had indeed greatly diſtreſſed the king of France, with whom they had no quarrel; they had alſo killed the king of Scots, their ſovereign's neareſt relation, who His ſucceſs unprofitable.

[156] Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 6. [157] Hall, f. 46.

A.D.1513. would have been his moſt faithful ally, if he had not wantonly engaged in this unneceſſary war with France; they had likewiſe gained the city of Tournay, which they kept a few years with much difficulty and at a great expence [158]. They had, it is true, moſt effectually promoted the intereſts of their treacherous confederates, the pope, the emperor, and the king of Spain, who violated all their engagements, and deſerted them without a moment's heſitation, as ſoon as they had obtained their own ends. May their poſterity avoid engaging in quarrels, in which they have little or no concern, and laviſhing their blood and treaſures for faithleſs ungrateful allies!

A.D.1514. Perfidy of the pope and the other confederates.

While Henry was thus fighting the battles of the church, the pope regaled him (to pleaſe his vanity) with the greateſt flattery; and, at the ſame time, boldly trampled on the rights of his crown and the laws of his country. He ſent four bulls into England, dated in February, A. D. 1514. By one of theſe he declared, that he had reſerved the biſhopric of Lincoln to his own diſpoſal. By another he beſtowed that biſhopric on Thomas Wolſey; declaring any other nomination or election that had been made by any others, through ignorance or preſumption, (meaning the nomination by the king and election by the chapter,) to be null and void. By the third, he preſcribed the form of the oath of obedience to the pope and ſee of Rome, Wolſey was to ſwear, in which he did not forget to make him ſwear to perſecute all he-

[158] Strype, vol. i. ch. i.

retics

retics and ſchiſmatics. By the fourth, he commanded the chapter of Lincoln to receive and obey Wolſey as their biſhop [159]. Wolſey accepted of theſe bulls by which he was involved in a premunire, but obtained a pardon from the king March 4th [160]. Before this, the pope had ſecretly concluded a peace with the king of France, without giving the leaſt hint of his intention to the champion of the church, whoſe arms had brought that prince to ſubmit to his terms: a conduct equally contemptuous, treacherous, and ungrateful. After that peace was concluded, he wrote Henry a moſt flattering letter extolling his zeal and piety in eſpouſing the cauſe of the church ſo warmly; and telling him, that his invincible bravery, and the terror of his name, had compelled its enemies to ſubmit, by which the deſign of the war was accompliſhed, and he had gained immortal glory [161]. Still further to pleaſe him, and prevent his reſenting ſo many affronts and injuries, he ſent him a conſecrated ſword and bonnet, accompanied with a letter, full of the moſt fulſome flattery, which were received with great ceremony as preſents of ineſtimable value [162]. Such was the vanity of this prince, and the bigotry of thoſe times! Henry's other confederates were no leſs perfidious, than their holy father the pope. Maximilian violated every ſtipulation of the late treaty of Liſle, without any heſitation or apology; and Ferdinand, at the ſame time that he was ſoliciting his ſon-in-law to A.D. 1514.

[159] Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 390. [160] Ibid. p. 394.
[161] Ibid. p. 386. [162] Ibid. p. 393.

enter

A.D. 1514. enter into a new confederacy againſt France, concluded a truce with that crown for another year [163].

Treaties with France begun.

Though Henry, blinded by his own bigotry, the intereſted counſels of his favourite Wolſey, and the arts of his confederates, had engaged with great ardour in this war againſt France, he now began to ſee his error, and the treachery of his allies. The duke of Longueville, who was then a priſoner in England, and admitted by Henry to ſhare in his pleaſures and amuſements, took every opportunity of unfolding the characters, and expoſing the deceitful arts of his confederates; and of extolling the honour and good faith of his own ſovereign, and repreſenting the earneſt deſire he had of a peace, and an intimate and cordial friendſhip with the young king of England, for whom he entertained the higheſt eſteem. When the duke found that the king liſtened to theſe diſcourſes, he propoſed a treaty of peace, to be cemented by a marriage between his ſovereign (who had lately become a widower) and the lady Mary, Henry's youngeſt ſiſter. That princeſs had been betrothed to the Emperor's grandſon, Charles prince of Spain; and by one article of the contract, the prince had engaged to ſend an ambaſſador into England, to eſpouſe the princeſs in his name within forty days after he had completed his fourteenth year. The prince had neglected to perform this article; and therefore the princeſs and the king her brother thought themſelves at liberty to enter into other engagements. Henry, who was an affectionate

[163] Ryni. tom. xiii. p. 395.

brother,

brother, was much pleaſed with the propoſed marriage, and, in converſation, he acquainted the duke with the preliminaries on which he was willing to treat of the peace and marriage. The ſubject of this converſation he immediately communicated in a familiar letter, written with his own hand, to his favourite Wolſey. In this remarkable letter, directed To my lord of Lincoln, he informed him, that the preliminaries were theſe two: 1. That the peace ſhould be for the joint lives of the two kings, and one year longer. 2. That the king of France ſhould pay him 100,000 crowns a-year. To which, ſays he, the duke anſwered, "that he colde natt "aſſure me theroff; but that he truſtyde, ſeyng "my demans were ſo reſonable, that hys maſter "wholde agre thereto. On truſt hereon we woll "that yow begyne to penne the reſydue off the "artycylles as ſoone as yow can. And thus fare "yow well. Written with the hande off your "lovyng maſter, HENRY R. [164]" A. D. 1514.

Though Lewis diſliked the ſecond preliminary, he was ſo deſirous of the peace and marriage, that (hoping to obtain an alteration in the treaty) he gave one commiſſion to the duke of Longueville, John de Sylva, and Thomas Bohier, to treat of a peace with England, dated July 29th, A. D. 1514; and another commiſſion to the ſame perſons, on the ſame day, to treat of his marriage with the princeſs Mary. He furniſhed theſe commiſſioners, at the ſame time, with full powers to bind and oblige him to pay to the king of England one million of Treaties with France finiſhed.

[164] See Rym. tom. xiii. p. 403, 404. [165] Ibid. p. 408.

crowns,

A.D.1514. crowns, partly as arrears due on ſeveral accounts, and partly as a teſtimony of the great eſteem and love he bore to that prince [165]. This he hoped Henry would be prevailed upon to accept, inſtead of the 100,000 crowns a-year, which he was unwilling to grant, as it had the appearance of an annual tribute: and in this hope he was not diſappointed. On the ſame day that the king of France executed theſe deeds at St. Germains, the princeſs Mary ſolemnly renounced her eſpouſals with the prince of Spain, on account of his breach of faith, and her contempt of him and averſion to him for that reaſon, in her brother's palace of Wainſted, in the preſence of many perſons of high rank [166]. Henry appointed the duke of Norfolk, Thomas Wolſey biſhop of Lincoln, and poſtulate archbiſhop of York, and Richard Fox biſhop of Wincheſter, his plenipotentiaries, Auguſt 2d, to treat with thoſe of France on the peace and marriage. As both parties were really deſirous of the peace and alliance, theſe treaties were finiſhed in five days, and ſigned at London, Auguſt 7th, A. D. 1514 [167]. As the Engliſh plenipotentiaries were prevailed upon, in the negotiation, to depart from their demand of 100,000 crowns a-year, and accept of the ſum of one million of crowns for the whole, another treaty for regulating the terms of payment, and aſſigning the reaſons for which that ſum was to be paid, was ſigned at the ſame time [168]. Thus was this holy war (as it was called) terminated by ſti-

165 See Rym. tom. xiii. p. 408. 166 Ibid. p. 409.
167 Ibid. p. 413—427. 168 Ibid. p. 428—439.

pulations

pulations merely ſecular, and the defence of the church and the pope, from the perſecution of the king of France, the pretence for which it had been undertaken, was not ſo much as mentioned in any of theſe treaties. The plenipotentiaries of France earneſtly endeavoured to procure the reſtoration of Tournay for a ſum of money; but though it was evidently Henry's intereſt to reſtore it, Wolſey's apprehenſions of loſing the profits of that rich biſhopric rendered all their efforts abortive. In this manner that inſolent favourite ſacrificed the intereſts of his king and country to his own. A.D. 1514.

Greatneſs of Wolſey.

While theſe treaties were in agitation, the king received a letter from cardinal John de Medicis, dated at Rome July 14th, acquainting him, that his ambaſſador cardinal Bambridge, archbiſhop of York, had died on that day; and that the pope, at his requeſt, had promiſed not to appoint a ſucceſſor to his ſee, till he knew his majeſty's pleaſure [169]. The king immediately recommended Wolſey; and in the mean time granted him, Auguſt 5th, the cuſtody of the arbiſhopric, with all its revenues [170]. Thus was this inſatiable aſpiring prieſt at once poſſeſſed of the archbiſhopric of York, the biſhoprics of Tournay and Lincoln, the adminiſtration of the biſhoprics of Worceſter, Hereford, and Bath, (whoſe biſhops were foreigners,) with ſeveral rich abbeys and other benifices, which made his revenues far ſuperior to thoſe of any other peer or prelate, if not to thoſe of the king himſelf. The pope complied with

[169] See Rym. tom. xiii. p. 404. [170] Ibid. p. 450.

A.D.1514. Henry's recommendation, and appointed Wolſey archbiſhop of York, on account of his extraordinary learning, piety, and virtue. Such was the hypocritical cant of the court of Rome, in which truth was totally diſregarded.

Marriage. In conſequence of the late treaty, the king of France eſpouſed the princeſs Mary of England, by his proxy, Lewis duke of Longueville, at Greenwich, Auguſt 13th; after which the princeſs aſſumed the title of queen of France. When all things were prepared, the young and blooming queen was conducted by the duke of Norfolk, with a ſplendid train of lords and ladies, to Abbeville, and there married to Lewis XII. in perſon, October 9th, A. D. 1514 [171]; but this marriage had not ſubſiſted three months, when it was diſſolved by the death of the king, January 1ſt, A. D. 1515.

Parliament. The parliament had been prorogued November 7th, A. D. 1513, to January 20th, A. D. 1514, when it met at Weſtminſter for diſpatch of buſineſs. In the time of this ſeſſion, ſeveral noblemen who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the preceding campaign in France and the north of England, were raiſed to higher titles, by royal patents, containing valuable grants of lands, as rewards for their ſervices, and to enable them to ſupport their honours: particularly Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, was created duke of Norfolk; Sir Charles Brandon, viſcount Liſle, was created duke of Suffolk; Thomas Howard, ſon to the duke of Norfolk, was

[171] See Rym. tom. xiii. p. 333—335.

created

created earl of Surrey; and Humphrey Stafford was reſtored to the title of duke of Buckingham, and the eſtates of his family, which had been forfeited by his father; and theſe patents, with the grants contained in them, were confirmed by acts of parliament [172]. As Henry was then preparing for another vigorous campaign againſt France, parliament granted him an aid of 160,000l. [173]. But his councils ſoon took a more pacific turn. A.D. 1514.

Though the death of Lewis XII. conſidering his age and infirmities, and the very unequal marriage in which he had fondly engaged, excited little ſurpriſe, it occaſioned no little ſorrow among his own ſubjects, by whom he was much beloved, and who had given him the honourable name of *the father of the people*. He was a brave, honourable, and wiſe prince, though he had been often deceived by Maximilian and Ferdinand, two of the greateſt diſſemblers (to give them no harſher name) that ever lived. His death was a misfortune to England as well as France, as it diſſolved the union between the two royal families, and rendered the late peace (ſo ſalutary to both nations) precarious. He was ſucceeded by Francis duke of Angouleme, the neareſt male heir to the crown, who had married the princeſs Claude, his eldeſt daughter. A.D. 1515. Character of Lewis XII.

Mary, now queen-dowager of France, was young, beautiful, and rich, and therefore likely to be courted by the greateſt princes; and both her brother and the king of France, for political reaſons, Marriage.

[172] See Rolls of Parliament, 5 Hen. VIII. [173] Ibid.

were

A.D.1515. were anxious about her choice of a ſecond huſband. But the lady ſoon put an end to their anxiety, and conſulting only her own inclinations, about two months after ſhe had become a widow, married Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk, one of the handſomeſt and moſt accompliſhed noblemen of the age. Henry was, or pretended to be, diſpleaſed at this marriage. But his diſpleaſure, whether real or pretended, was not of long duration. The queen and her huſband returned into England, were well received by Henry, and publicly married at Greenwich, May 13th. The queen, it is ſaid, brought with her 200,000 crowns in money and jewels [174].

Parliament. A new parliament met at Weſtminſter, February 5th, A. D. 1515. The commons choſe ſir Thomas Neville for their ſpeaker, who acquitted himſelf ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the king and both houſes, that he was made a knight of the garter in full parliament; "an honour (ſay the Journals) "that had never been conferred on any mortal "man in any age [175]." On the ſixth day of the parliament, the chancellor, accompanied by ſeveral lords and prelates, went to the commons, and acquainted them, that the reaſons which had induced the king to call this parliament were theſe two: 1. That they might determine how the money that had been granted by the laſt parliament, and not yet levied, ſhould be collected. 2. That the Scots had made great depredations on the Engliſh, both by ſea and land, which had determined the

[174] Herbert, p. 22. [175] Journals, vol. i. p. 20.

king

king to declare war againſt them; and he intreated the commons to conſider diligently the great expences in which that war would involve him. This was a modeſt way of aſking a ſupply; but the commons did not take the hint. After making ſeveral laws, the parliament was prorogued April 5th, to the 12th of November [176]. A. D. 1515.

The claims of the kings of France on the duchy of Milan, and other territories in Italy, involved them and their ſubjects in many and great calamities. Francis I., at his acceſſion, was too brave and ambitious to relinquiſh any of theſe deſtructive claims. On the contrary, he panted with the moſt impatient ardour to aſſert them, with all the forces of his kingdom. This made him very deſirous of a ſolid peace with England; and he ſent two ambaſſadors to London to treat with Henry and his miniſters for that purpoſe. The plenipotentiaries of the two crowns concluded and ſigned, April 5th, a treaty of peace almoſt verbatim the ſame with that which had been lately made with Lewis XII. This peace was to continue during the joint lives of the two kings, and a year after the death of him who died firſt. On the ſame day the French ambaſſadors ſigned another treaty, binding and obliging their maſter to pay to the king of England one million of crowns, deducting 50,000 franks which had been paid by Lewis XII. [177] This proves that theſe treaties were intended to confirm thoſe that had been made with the late king. The allies of both the contracting powers were com- Treaties.

[176] Journals, vol. i. p. 42. [177] Rym. tom. xiii. p. 473—491.

A.D. 1515. prehended in the treaty of peace; but the Scots only on this condition, that they committed no hoſtilities againſt the Engliſh after the 15th of May.

Wolſey's promotion. Though Wolſey, archbiſhop of York, who had the chief direction in all theſe tranſactions, had already attained to a greater degree both of wealth and power than any other Engliſh ſubject had ever reached, he was far from being ſatisfied. "When "he was once archbiſhop, (ſays a contemporary "hiſtorian,) he ſtudied day and night how to be a "cardinal, and cauſed the king and the French "king to write to Rome for him[178]." Several cardinals were averſe to his advancement; but the pope, knowing his abſolute ſway over the mind of his royal maſter, was deſirous of gaining his friendſhip, and in full conſiſtory declared him a cardinal, September 11th. Francis I. who was then in Italy, willing to aſſume ſome merit on the occaſion, ſent him the firſt notice of his promotion. As ſoon as he received the agreeable news, he haſtened to communicate them to the king, but affected to have great ſcruples about accepting ſo high an honour, of which he thought himſelf unworthy. The king ſaluted him My Lord Cardinal, and ſoon overcame his ſcruples[179]. This was ſoon followed by another promotion. The pope a few days afterwards appointed his legate the new cardinal for England.

Wolſey's greatneſs. From this time Wolſey ſet no bounds to his pride and arrogance: but made a moſt arbitrary uſe of his power, and a moſt diſguſting diſplay of

[178] Hall, f. 56. [179] Id. ibid.

his

his wealth. When his cardinal's hat was brought to England, he cauſed the bearer of it to be met on Blackheath, and conducted through London with as much pomp as if the pope himſelf had made his appearance; and his reception of it in Weſtminſter-abbey reſembled the coronation of a king [180]. Several of the king's moſt ancient and reſpectable counſellors, ſeeing themſelves ſo much eclipſed and ſo little regarded, reſolved to retire from court. The duke of Norfolk abſented himſelf as much as poſſible, but did not reſign his office of treaſurer at this time [181]. Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, retired to his dioceſe, and reſigned his office of keeper of the privy ſeal [182]. On his taking leave of the king, he preſumed to caution him, "not to make any of his ſubjects greater "than himſelf;" to which Henry ſternly replied, "that he knew how to keep all his ſubjects in "ſubjection." William Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, reſigned his office of chancellor, by delivering the great ſeal to the king December 22d, which was immediately committed to Wolſey, who may be ſaid to have reigned in England the ten ſucceeding years without a rival [183]; for Henry, during all that time, with all his ſelf-conceit and haughtineſs, was little more than the nominal, while Wolſey was the real king of England [184]. A. D. 1515.

The people of thoſe times were greatly perplexed how to account for the blind and obſtinate attach- Cauſes of his greatneſs.

[180] Stowe, p. 502. [181] Rym. p. 555—564
[182] Rym. p. 553. [183] Herbert, p. 24. Rym. p. 529.
[184] Eraſmus, lib. 26. epiſt. 55.

A. D. 1515. ment of ſo haughty a prince to ſo inſolent a favourite. The vulgar of all ranks aſcribed this to necromancy, and firmly believed that the cardinal had bewitched the king. But wiſe men aſcribed this extraordinary phenomenon to its true cauſe, the extraordinary capacity and cunning of the cardinal, who contrived to render himſelf always agreeable, always uſeful, and always neceſſary to the king. The arts he employed for theſe purpoſes were innumerable, of which I ſhall mention only a few. Henry was fond of pleaſurable amuſements, in which he ſpent much of his time. The cardinal, who was himſelf a man of pleaſure, encouraged this paſſion, contrived amuſements for him, partook of them, and provided him with companions and playfellows, who were his own creatures, and communicated to him every word the king ſpoke in his moſt unguarded moments. He recommended Longland, biſhop of Lincoln, his old and faithful friend, to to be the king's confeſſor; "and when the king's "grace ſhrove himſelf, (ſays a writer then at "court,) think ye not that he ſpoke ſo loud that "the cardinal heard him [185]." The king's chaplains were all his confidents and creatures, and watered (ſays the ſame writer) what the cardinal had ſown. He danced and frolicked with the ladies of the court, and made them preſents to gain their favour and obtain intelligence. He was a ſkilful flatterer, and frequently regaled the king with that moſt palatable diſh, nicely adapted to his taſte,

[185] Cavendiſh apud Strype, vol. i. p. 124.

Above

Above all, knowing Henry's high eſteem of his own wiſdom, and obſtinate adherence to his own opinions, by long trains artfully laid, he got the ſchemes which he himſelf had formed, to be propoſed by the king, which he then praiſed and adopted as the beſt and wiſeſt that could be invented [136]. By theſe and various other arts, this admirable but unprincipled politician gained, and long retained, the favour of one of the moſt capricious and paſſionate princes that ever lived. A. D. 1515.

Wolſey's abuſe of his power.

Wolſey ſhamefully abuſed the unbounded confidence repoſed in him by his royal maſter, and on ſeveral occaſions ſacrificed the honour of his prince and the proſperity of his country, to his own paſſions and private intereſts. He had perſuaded Henry to retain Tournay, that he might retain the revenues of the biſhopric. But the French biſhop elect gave him much trouble, and made ſtrenuous efforts to obtain poſſeſſion of his ſee; and Wolſey diſcovered, by his ſpies at Rome, that Francis I. had eſpouſed the cauſe of the biſhop, and ſolicited the pope for a bull in his favour [137]. Incenſed at this, the vindictive prelate perſuaded Henry to violate the treaty of peace he had made with Francis only a few months before, and to form a new confederacy againſt France with Maximilian and Ferdinand, who had ſo often deceived him. Henry heſitated at this ſtrong meaſure, and wiſhed for the advice of his old counſellors. The duke of Norfolk, the archbiſhop of

136 Cavendiſh apud Strype, vol. i. p. 124.

137 Strype, vol. i. chap. 1.

A. D. 1515. Canterbury, and the biſhop of Wincheſter, were ſent for to court, and the council was held in the king's preſence. The ancient counſellors argued ſtrongly againſt a breach with France, as highly imprudent, diſhonourable, and unjuſt. The cardinal made a long and violent harangue againſt Francis, as a prince of inſatiable ambition, who, by his late ſucceſſes in Italy, was become formidable to all his neighbours; and that there was a neceſſity for England to interpoſe, to prevent the increaſe of his power. The biſhop of Durham, and the other counſellors under Wolſey's influence, were of the ſame opinion. At the concluſion of the council, Henry declared, that he was determined to put a ſtop to the progreſs of the French arms in Italy, but that he hoped to do that without an open war, by ſupplying the emperor Maximilian with money [188]. That plan was adopted; an ambaſſador was ſent to the emperor, furniſhed with a large ſum of money, and bills for a ſtill greater ſum on the Friſcobaldi, famous Italian bankers, to engage him to march an army into Italy, to recover Milan from the French, and give it up to Franciſco Sforza, brother to Maximilian Sforza, who had reſigned all his rights to the king of France. Sforza, who aſſumed the name of duke of Milan, engaged to pay Wolſey an annual penſion of 10,000 ducats; and Wolſey engaged to make the king of England his perpetual friend and protector [189]. In this manner did this covetous and corrupt miniſter ſell his ſovereign and his country. The

Treaty with the emperor.

[188] Herbert, p. 25. [189] Rym. p. 525.

ſame

ſame ambaſſador, (doctor Richard Pace,) by the ſame powerful argument, money, enliſted an army of Swiſs, to fight under the emperor in his expedition into Italy. Maximilian took the ambaſſador's bills and money, marched into Italy, and after a feeble attempt upon Milan, diſbanded his army, and returned into Germany; giving this for his excuſe, that the Friſcobaldi had became bankrupts, and could not pay their bills[190]. Thus was Henry obliged to ſit down, as well contented as he could, with the loſs of his money, and the mortification of having diſcovered his animoſity againſt Francis, without doing him any harm. A. D. 1515.

The parliament met November 12th, the day to which it had been prorogued. As peace had been ſo lately concluded, Wolſey dared not yet divulge his hoſtile deſigns againſt France, and therefore had no pretence to demand a ſupply. But the king's coffers being much exhauſted by his expenſive amuſements, and remittances into Germany, a bill was brought into the houſe of peers, on the fortieth day of the parliament, for a ſubſidy to be granted to the king, and being read once was carried by the lord chancellor to the houſe of commons. There, it is probable, it met with an unfavourable reception; for the parliament was diſſolved the next day, December 22d; and on the ſame day archbiſhop Warham reſigned the great ſeal[191]. Henry and his favourite ſeem now to have taken a diſlike to parliaments, for no par- Parliament.

[190] Herbert, p. 25. Hall, f. 59. Petrus de Angleria, p. 568.
[191] Journals, p. 56. Rym. p. 529.

A. D. 1515. liament was held after this, till July 31ſt, A. D. 1523[192].

Conteſt between the clergy and laity.

One thing that contributed to give the favourite an averſion to parliaments was, the violent conteſt between the laſt one and the convocation, which ſat at the ſame time, about the exemption of the clergy from the juriſdiction of the ſecular courts. This matter was ſolemnly argued before the king, lords and commons. Doctor Standiſh, guardian of the minorets in London, and chief of the king's ſpiritual council, argued ſtrongly againſt the exemption. The clergy, enraged at this, called him before the convocation. Standiſh, who could expect neither juſtice nor mercy from ſuch intereſted judges, implored the king's protection. The temporal peers, the commons, and judges, petitioned the king to ſupport the rights of his crown, and the authority of his laws againſt the encroachments of the clergy. This involved Henry, who was at once fond of power, and a bigot to the church, in great perplexity. He conſulted doctor Veyſey, dean of his chapel, of whoſe learning and virtue he had a high opinion, and the doctor declared againſt the exemption. All the judges gave it as their opinion, that thoſe of the convocation who had awarded the citation of Dr. Standiſh were in a præmunire. In an aſſembly of both houſes of parliament, the convocation, and judges, the king, at laſt, declared, that it was his reſolution to maintain the rights of

[192] Rolls of Parl. 14 Hen. VIII.

his

his crown, and juriſdiction of his courts, in as ample a manner as any of his progenitors had done [193]. This affair is not mentioned in the Journals; but doctor Taylor, who was clerk of parliament, and prolocutor of the convocation, hath added this note: "In this parliament and convocation, moſt dangerous conteſts aroſe between the clergy and the laity about eccleſiaſtical immunities. One Standiſh, a minoret, was the author of all theſe evils [194]." A. D. 1515.

Queen Katherine was delivered of a daughter, February 11th, A. D. 1516, who was named Mary, and will be often mentioned in the ſequel of this work [195]. In the ſame month died the queen's father, Ferdinand king of Spain, and was ſucceeded in his extenſive dominions by his grandſon Charles, already ſovereign of all the territories of the houſe of Burgundy, and heir to thoſe of the houſe of Auſtria, which, with the empire of Germany, came ſoon after into his poſſeſſion. A. D. 1516. Birth and death.

The death of Ferdinand and acceſſion of Charles engaged the attention of all the great princes and ſtates in Europe, and gave occaſion to various negotiations. Henry had concluded a commercial treaty with Charles as ſovereign of the Low Countries, January 24th, A. D. 1516, only a few days before his grandfather's death; and now foreſeeing his future power and greatneſs, he wiſhed to form a more intimate connection with him [196]. Treaties.

193 Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. vol. iii. p. 13—17.
194 Journals, p. 57. 195 Stowe, p. 504.
196 Rym. p. 533—539.

With

A. D. 1516. With this view, and to gratify the reſentment of his favourite againſt Francis, he gave a commiſſion to cardinal Wolſey, the duke of Norfolk, and the biſhop of Durham, to negotiate with the plenipotentiaries of the emperor Maximilian, and his grandſon Charles king of Spain, a league and confederacy in defence of the church, and to reſtrain the unbridled ambition of certain princes, meaning the king of France. This holy league, of which the pope was declared the head, was concluded at London, October 29th, A. D. 1516 [197]. In this league they were aſhamed to name the prince againſt whom it was formed; and they had good reaſon to be aſhamed: for all the confederates had very lately made treaties of peace with Francis, and he had not done any of them the ſmalleſt injury. This was another abſurd tranſaction into which Henry was betrayed by the covetous and vindictive ſpirit of his favourite, and it came to nothing.

Device of the emperor. In the ſpring of this year, the emperor attempted to extort money from Henry by a very curious contrivance: In a confidential converſation with Sir Robert Wyngfield, the Engliſh ambaſſador at his court, he pretended to be tired of the toils and cares attending his high office—that he had a prodigious affection for his maſter the king of England, and was diſpoſed to reſign the empire in his favour—that when he was emperor, he might aſſert his right to the crown of France, in which he would be aſſiſted by the pope, and all

[197] Rym. p. 556—566.

pood

good chriſtians. The ambaſſador communicated this fine project to his maſter, but cautioned him not to depend too much on the emperor's ſincerity. Though this bait was admirably dreſſed to pleaſe the predominant paſſions of the king and his favourite, the deſign of it was too palpable to eſcape detection. Henry directed his ambaſſador to thank the emperor for his friendly intentions, and deſire him to keep them ſecret till the French were driven out of Italy [198]. A. D. 1516

The cardinal having failed in his attempts to raiſe a ſtorm againſt the king of France, was conſtrained to ſuffer his country to continue in peace. Being thus diſengaged from political intrigues, he employed himſelf in diſcharging the duties of his various offices. As chancellor he is ſaid to have diſcovered uncommon talents; and his decrees are much applauded, by one of his moſt eminent ſucceſſors, for their wiſdom, equity, and juſtice [199]. He called the collectors of the revenues of the crown to a ſevere account, by which he brought conſiderable ſums of money into the treaſury. As papal legate, he acted with unbounded authority; erected no fewer than four new courts, into which he brought perſons of all denominations, and pleas of all kinds, and thereby greatly diminiſhed the buſineſs of the ordinary courts of law [200]. Poſſeſſed of all this power, he had not the magnanimity to forgive the affronts he had received when in a humbler ſtation. He confined Sir Amias Pawlet ſeveral A. D. 1517. Wolſey's power.

[198] Herbert, p. 25.
[199] T. More, Lucubrationes.
[200] Stowe p. 504.

years

A. D. 1517. years for having put him in the ſtocks when he was a young man, for raiſing a riot in a country fair [201].

Courted by great princes.

The influence of Cardinal Wolſey in all the councils of England was now ſo well eſtabliſhed and ſo univerſally known, that the greateſt monarchs courted his friendſhip. The pope revoked the bull he had granted in favour of Lewis Galliart, biſhop elect of Tournay; and, by another, appointed Wolſey adminiſtrator of that ſee; and ſoon after made him his general collector in England [202]; a very lucrative office to one who had ſo much power. The young king of Spain granted him a penſion of 3000 livres a-year, calling him in the grant, "his moſt dear and moſt eſpecial friend [203]." It was no ſecret that pride and avarice were his ruling paſſions; and that money and flattery were the moſt effectual means of gaining his favour.

A. D. 1518. As the king of England at this time held the balance between the two great monarchs of France and Spain, and was able to make either ſcale he pleaſed preponderate, the friendſhip of his favourite was of great importance to both theſe monarchs, and Wolſey had the ſatisfaction to ſee them both courting him with the greateſt emulation. Francis, in order to defeat his rival, ſent the cardinal many curious and valuable preſents, accompanied with the moſt flattering letters, in which he called him his lord, his father, and his guardian; aſſured him that he would regard his advices as oracles, and amply reward his ſervices [204]. When he had by theſe means

201 Stowe, p. 504. 202 Rym. p. 585—588. 203 Ibid. 591.
204 Polydore Virgil, lib. xxvii. Herbert, p. 30.

gained

gained the favourite, as much as it was poſſible to gain one ſo ſelfiſh and intereſted, he inſtructed Villeroy, his reſident at the court of England, to treat privately with him about the reſtitution of Tournay, and an alliance between the two crowns, to be cemented by the marriage of the dauphin with the princeſs Mary, Henry's only child; not forgetting to promiſe him an indemnification for the biſhopric. A. D. 1518.

When Wolſey perceived that it would be his intereſt to promote the views of the king of France, he managed his royal maſter with great dexterity. He preſented him with ſome of the moſt curious things he had received from Francis, to put him into good humour. "With theſe things," ſaid he, "hath the king of France attempted to corrupt "me. Many ſervants would have concealed this "from their maſters, but I am reſolved to deal "openly with your grace on all occaſions. This "attempt, however," added he, "to corrupt the "ſervant, is a certain proof of his ſincere de-"ſire of the friendſhip of the maſter." Henry was ſo far from being offended, that it pleaſed his vanity, to think that he had choſen ſo great a miniſter, who was ſo much admired and courted by other princes. "The cardinal," ſaid he, "will "govern both Francis and me [205]." Wolſey's artful conduct.

The way being thus prepared, Francis appointed William Gouffier lord of Bonivet, admiral of France; Stephen Ponchier, biſhop of Paris; ſir Francis de Rupecavarde, and ſir Nicholas de Neuf- Treaties.

[205] Polydore Virgil, lib. xxvii. Herbert, p. 30.

ville,

A. D. 1518. ville, his plenipotentiaries, July 31ſt, A. D. 1518, to treat with the king of England about a perpetual peace; the marriage of the dauphin and the princeſs Mary; the reſtoration of Tournay; and a perſonal interview between the two kings [206]. Theſe plenipotentiaries ſet out with a ſplendid train of the gayeſt lords and ladies of France, attended by no fewer than twelve hundred officers, guards, and ſervants. This expenſive cumberſome parade ſeems to have been deſigned to gratify the vanity of Henry and his favourite. They were introduced to the king at Greenwich September 23d, and ſoon after entered upon buſineſs with cardinal Wolſey, who had been appointed by Henry his ſole commiſſioner to treat with them [207]. Senſible that they could expect no ſucceſs without the cardinal's favour, they began by preſenting him with the grant of a penſion of 12,000 livres a-year for life, as a compenſation for the biſhopric of Tournay [208]. It appears from the ſtrain of this grant, that every thing had been ſettled before by Wolſey and the French reſident, and that the plenipotentiaries had little or nothing to do but to ſign the treaties that had been prepared. Theſe were four: 1. A treaty of perpetual peace and amity between the two kings and their ſucceſſors. 2. A treaty of marriage between the dauphin and the princeſs Mary. 3. A treaty for the reſtitution of Tournay to France for 600,000 crowns. 4. A treaty for a perſonal interview of the two kings, in ſome neutral place be-

206 Rym. p. 611—619. 207 Hall, f. 65. Rym. p. 608.
208 Rym. p. 610.

tween

tween Calais and Ardres, before the laſt day of July, A. D. 1519[209]. By theſe treaties a ſolid foundation ſeemed to be laid of a cordial friendſhip between the two kings, an intimate union between their families, and a permanent peace between their ſubjects. But we ſhall ſoon ſee how little we can depend upon the moſt promiſing appearances, and moſt ſolemn treaties. A. D. 1518.

Every year brought Wolſey additions to his former power and riches; and Henry ſeemed to be determined to diveſt himſelf of all authority, to beſtow it on his favourite. By one warrant, he gave him authority to make as many denizens as he pleaſed; and by another he gave him power to iſſue *congés d' elire*, royal aſſents, reſtitutions of temporalties to all archbiſhoprics, biſhoprics, abbeys, priories, and all other eccleſiaſtical benefices in the gift of the crown, without conſulting the king[210]. In a word, by one means or other, he got the diſpoſal of almoſt all the conſiderable benefices in England, which brought great ſums of money into his coffers. The pope gave him the biſhoprics of Bath and Wells July 28th, which had been vacated by the deprivation of cardinal Adrian for a plot againſt his holineſs[211]. His penſion from the king of France hath been already mentioned. Wolſey increaſes in power and riches.

The king and court of England ſpent the beginning of this year in making preparations of all kinds for the approaching interview with the king and court of France, at which Henry propoſed A. D. 1519. Wolſey regulates the interview.

[209] Rymi p. 625—681. [210] Ibid. p. 605. [211] Ibid. p. 610.

to

A. D. 1519. to outſhine his brother monarch, and make a moſt dazzling diſplay of his riches and magnificence. His ſubjects were inflamed with the ſame vain ambition, in which they were encouraged by the king and cardinal; and ſeveral of the nobility contracted debts, which greatly diſtreſſed their families. Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, the richeſt nobleman in England, dropped ſome expreſſions reflecting on the cardinal, as the cauſe of all this ruinous expence, which were not forgotten. Francis ſeems to have known the characters of Henry and his favourite, and he paid them both a very flattering compliment, by appointing Wolſey his commiſſioner, January 10th, A. D. 1519, with full powers to ſettle with the commiſſioners of the king of England the time, place, and all the other circumſtances of the intended interview [212]. Wolſey having received a ſimilar commiſſion from his own maſter, iſſued a mandate, by which he regulated all the motions of theſe two mighty monarchs, their queens, their courts, and attendants of all kinds, in the moſt authoritative and peremptory manner [213]. We can hardly blame this man for being proud.

Charles of Spain elected emperor.

In the mean time an event happened which engaged the attention of all Europe, and ſuſpended all other deſigns. The emperor Maximilian died January 12th, A. D. 1519, and the two powerful kings of France and Spain immediately declared themſelves candidates for the imperial crown. Both theſe princes were rich and powerful, young,

[212] Rym. p. 610. [213] Ibid. p. 705.

active, and ambitious, and made the moſt vigorous efforts to gain the glittering prize, by laviſhing their money and promiſes among the electors. The pope earneſtly deſired to ſee them both diſappointed, and the king of England, or ſome German prince, elected; but dared not openly to declare againſt either of them. Henry's ambition was roufed, and he ſent ſir Richard Pace into Germany, to try what could be done among the electors in his favour. But that miniſter ſoon acquainted him, that the ground was pre-occupied, and wiſely adviſed him to conceal his ambition and ſave his money. The conferences of the electors began in June, and on the 28th of that month Charles king of Spain was unanimouſly choſen, and immediately proclaimed emperor, by the name of Charles V.: a name renowned in the hiſtory of modern Europe[214]. Charles was chiefly indebted for his ſucceſs to the great intereſt and diſintereſted patriotiſm of Frederick, elector of Saxony, to whom the electors, it is ſaid, made an offer of the imperial crown. A. D. 1519.

The election of Charles was a cruel diſappointment to his rival Francis, who had flattered himſelf with the hopes of ſucceſs to the very laſt. He was greatly mortified at the loſs of his money, and ſtill more at the preference of a prince younger and leſs famous than himſelf, in ſo public a competition. He now ſaw more clearly than ever, the neceſſity of cultivating the friendſhip of the king of England. With this view he continued to flatter the Francis courts Henry and his favourite.

214 See Doctor Robertſon's Hiſtory of Charles V.

A. D. 1519. favourite, and paid with great punctuality all the ſums of money that were due for the reſtitution of Tournay, and on other accounts [215]. He alſo deſired the favour of Henry to ſtand godfather to his ſecond ſon, and to give him a name. He complied, and gave him his own name. In a word, the two kings, to expreſs their regret for the delay of their interview, occaſioned by the death of Maximilian, agreed not to ſhave their beards till they had ſeen one another [216]. This propoſal probably came from Francis, who was at infinite pains to keep Henry and the cardinal in good humour, and ſteady to their engagements.

A. D. 1520. The emperor arrives in England.

Though the young emperor Charles V. had triumphed in the competition for the empire, he was not without his diſquiets. He met with much oppoſition in Spain; commotions aroſe in his German dominions, and he was greatly alarmed at the intended interview of Henry and Francis, which he endeavoured to prevent by his ambaſſador at the court of England. But the engagements to this interview, he was told, were too ſtrong and too public to be violated; that nothing hoſtile to him was intended, and that the king would have no objections to an interview with him on a proper occaſion. Charles, ſtill uneaſy, reſolved to pay Henry the compliment of a viſit, in his paſſage from Spain into Germany; and he took the moſt effectual method to ſecure a favourable reception, by tranſmitting to cardinal Wolſey a ſolemn promiſe, under his privy ſeal, dated at Campoſtella,

[215] Rym. p. 699. Herbert, p. 34. [216] Ibid.

March

March 29th, A. D. 1520, that he would engage A. D. 1520.
the pope to grant him the adminiſtration of the biſhopric of Badajox in Caſtile, worth 5000 ducats a-year, and a penſion of 2000 ducats a-year out of the biſhopric of Placentia [217]. This promiſe was punctually performed [218]. The emperor ſailed from the Groyne May 20th, and arrived off Dover May 26th. As ſoon as this news reached Henry, (who was then with his court at Canterbury, in his way to France,) he ſent the cardinal to receive him at his landing, and conduct him to the caſtle of Dover, where he went to ſee him next morning. The emperor, it is ſaid, endeavoured to diſſuade the king from proceeding to his interview with Francis, or at leaſt to prevent him from forming too intimate connexions with that prince. This is probable, but cannot be certainly known. Charles, though he was ſtill young, was already too good a politician to neglect the favourite. On the contrary, he cultivated his friendſhip with great attention, and no little ſucceſs. It was on this occaſion, as is commonly believed, that the emperor promiſed him his intereſt for obtaining the papal throne, on which he had fixed his ambitious eyes, though the reigning pope was a younger man than himſelf. After conferring ſome time on buſineſs at Dover, Henry conducted the emperor to Canterbury, and introduced him to queen Katharine, his aunt, and to Mary queen-dowager of France, formerly his betrothed bride, with whoſe appearance he was ſo much ſtruck that he could

[217] Rym. p. 714. [218] Ibid. p. 725.

A. D. 1520. not conceal his emotions. Having ſpent two days in banqueting and diverſions, the emperor went to Sandwich May 29th, and ſailed from thence next morning, as did the king, queen, and court of England the day after from Dover, and arrived at Calais [219]. This viſit of the emperor appears to have been very pleaſing to Henry and his favourite; but it gave great uneaſineſs to the king of France.

Henry and his court proceed to Guiſnes.

Henry ſpent three days at Calais, to finiſh the preparations for the approaching interview, and ſet out on his way to Guiſnes June 4th, with his queen, the queen-dowager of France, and all his court. The king, beſide all his guards and ſervants, and all the noblemen and gentlemen of his houſehold, was attended by one cardinal, one archbiſhop, ſeven biſhops, two dukes, one marquis, eight earls, and eighteen lords, with all their numerous followers, and many knights and gentlemen. The queen, beſide all the ladies, officers, and ſervants of her houſehold, was attended by three biſhops, one earl, three lords, thirty-three knights, one ducheſs, ſeven counteſſes, fifteen baroneſſes, nineteen knights' wives, and many gentlewomen, with all their attendants [220]. The ſuit, or rather court, of the cardinal was nearly as numerous as that of the king. All the prelates, lords, and ladies vied with one another in the richneſs of their dreſſes and number of their followers. In a word, the court of England made a moſt ſplendid appearance on this occaſion, and exhibited a conſpicuous diſ-

219 Peter Martyr, ep. 669. Hall, f. 72, 73. Herbert, p. 35.
220 Hall, f. 72. Rym. p. 710—713.

play

play of the wealth of their country, and the vanity of their king. A. D. 1520.

Great preparations had been made at Guiſnes for the reception of this illuſtrious company. Two thouſand artificers of different kinds had been employed ſeveral months in building a magnificent palace of wood near the caſtle, for the accommodation of the king and queen, with the principal lords and ladies of the court. This palace formed a ſquare, ſurrounding a court, each ſide of which was three thouſand and twenty-eight feet in length. The walls and roof were adorned, on the outſide, with a great number of ſtatues of warriors in the act of diſcharging weapons of various kinds. Over the great gateway was a coloſſal ſtatue of a ſavage, armed with a bow and arrows, with this inſcription below it, "*Cui adhæreo præeſt*;—He to whom I "adhere prevails." The inſide of the palace was divided into ſtate-rooms and lodging-rooms; the roofs of which were painted, the walls hung with ſilks or tapeſtry, the floors covered with Turkey carpets, and all richly furniſhed. On one ſide of the great gate was a fountain running with white and red wine and hippocras, with this inſcription, "Make "merry who will," and a ſtatue of Bacchus on the top. On the other ſide of the gate was an obeliſk, with a ſtatue of Cupid on the top, in the attitude of diſcharging arrows at thoſe who entered. Contiguous to this palace were built elegant convenient lodges for all the great officers of the houſehold: as the lord chamberlain, lord treaſurer, lord ſteward, the comptroller, and Splendor of the Engliſh court.

A. D. 1520. board of green cloth: and houſes for all th offices; as the ewery, pantry, cellar, buttery, ſpicery, larder, poultry, pitcher-houſe, &c. On the plain around the palace were pitched two thouſand eight hundred tents, many of them large and magnificent, covered with cloth of gold or ſilk. All the houſes in the town of Guiſnes were crowded, and ſeveral perſons of rank and fortune were forced to lodge in barns, and to ſleep on hay or ſtraw [221]. Beſide the great multitude of his own ſubjects of all ranks, who accompanied the king of England on this occaſion, and beſide the great number of foreign princes and princeſſes, and nobility of both ſexes, who frequented his court, and were nobly entertained, we are told by an hiſtorian who was preſent, "That during this triumph (which laſted "twenty days) much people of Picardy and "Flanders drew to Guiſnes, to ſee the king of "England and his honour, to whom victuals of "the court were given in plenty, and the conduit "of the gate ran wine always. There were vaga-"bonds, plowmen, labourers, waggoners, and "beggars, that for drunkenneſs lay in routs and "heaps; ſo great reſort thither came, that both "knights and ladies, that were come to ſee that "nobleneſs, were faine to lye in hay and ſtraw, "and held them thereof highly pleaſed [222]." If to the above were added a deſcription of the dreſſes of the king, the queen, the ladies, the lords, and knights, in which nothing were ſeen but ſilks, velvets, cloth of gold, embroidery, and jewels, we

[221] Hall, f. 73, 74. [222] Id. f. 74.

might

might form ſome idea of the immenſe expence in which this vain parade involved Henry and his moſt opulent ſubjects. "Many of the nobles," ſays a writer who was a ſpectator of this glittering ſcene, "carried their caſtles, woods, and farms "on their backs[223]." A. D. 1520.

The king of France, with his queen and court, as numerous and at leaſt as gay and ſparkling as that of England, arrived at Ardres in the beginning of June. Cardinal Wolſey, to whom both kings had given authority to regulate all the circumſtances of their interview, went from Guiſnes to Ardres June 7th, in all the pomp his riches enabled and his pride prompted him to exhibit, which was ſuch as ſtruck the French with aſtoniſhment. Francis, who ardently deſired to gain him, received him with the moſt flattering marks of affection and reſpect[224]. He ſpent two days in negotiating with the French miniſters: but in theſe negotiations no uncommon cordiality appeared; nothing of importance was concluded, and only a few trifling articles were added to the former treaties[225]. Parade and buſtle are unfriendly to real buſineſs. Wolſey treats with the French miniſters.

When Wolſey publiſhed his orders for regulating this famous interview, they appeared to breathe a ſpirit of mutual diffidence; and if the two monarchs had been the bitterеſt enemies, greater precautions could not have been taken to prevent the one from taking the other priſoner. Both kings were to be conſtantly attended by equal First interview.

[223] Hall, f. 74. [224] Id. f. 73.
[225] Rym. p. 719. 723.

A. D. 1520. numbers of men in all their motions; equal numbers of both nations were to guard the roads, and ſearch the environs, to prevent ambuſhes [226]. In a word, every thing had rather a hoſtile than an amicable appearance; and, in fact, emulation and jealouſy prevailed more on both ſides, than love and friendſhip. This mutual diſtruſt appeared in a ſtrong light on the day of the firſt interview. Both kings drew up all their followers in a kind of battle array; both ſet out the ſame moment, at the firing of a cannon, from Guiſnes, that was anſwered by one from Ardres. When the French had advanced a little, an alarm aroſe of ſome danger; Francis alighted, and remained for ſome time in ſuſpence, but being encouraged by monſieur Monret, he remounted and proceeded. Soon after a ſimilar alarm aroſe among the Engliſh; the king halted; but lord Shrewſbury ſaid, "Sir, I have ſeen the "Frenchmen; they be more in fear of you and "your ſubjects than your ſubjects be of them; "wherefore, if I were worthy to give counſel, "your grace ſhould march forward."—"So "we intend, my lord." ſaid the king. Then the officers of arms cried, "On afore [227]." At laſt the two kings met; embraced on horſeback, then alighted, embraced again, and went arm-in-arm nto a tent of cloth of gold, prepared for their reception. There they converſed familiarly, dined together, and then ſeparated for that time [228].

After this, the king of France viſited the queen of England in her palace at Guiſnes, where he dined, and

[226] Rym. p. 707. [227] Hall, f. 76. [228] Id. ibid.

ſpent

ſpent the day in dancing and other amuſements, while the king of England acted the ſame part at Ardres. But all their motions were ſtill regulated by the cumberſome etiquette eſtabliſhed by the cardinal. Francis, who earneſtly deſired to gain the confidence and friendſhip of his brother monarch, firſt broke through theſe embarraſſing regulations. He mounted early in the morning, and rode towards Guiſnes, attended only by two gentlemen and a page. A body of two hundred Engliſh, who were upon guard and knew him, were greatly ſurpriſed at his appearance. "Surrender your arms," cried Francis, "and conduct me to my brother." Henry was ſtill in bed. Francis drew open his curtains and awaked him. Nothing could equal his ſurpriſe, when he ſaw the king of France at the ſide of his bed. "You have gained a victory "over me," ſaid he, "my dear brother; I yield "myſelf your priſoner, and plight you my faith." He then preſented a chain or collar of great value to Francis, intreating him to wear it for his ſake; and Francis taking a bracelet of ſtill greater value from his own arm, tied it about Henry's, with the ſame requeſt [a]. From that time the intercourſe between the two kings and their courts became more free and confidential. A.D. 1520.

Both Henry and Francis delighted and excelled in the martial and manly exerciſes of thoſe times, and took this opportunity of diſplaying their courage and ſkill in arms, as well as their magnificence. Heralds had been ſent into all parts, to proclaim Tilts and tournaments, &c.

[a] Garnier, Hiſt. de France, tom. xxiii. p. 296.

the

A. D. 1520. the challenge of the kings of France and England, as brothers in arms, with fourteen companions, at tilts, tournaments, and barriers; and to invite all valorous knights and gentlemen to come and accept the challenge. Theſe moſt brilliant feats of arms (which will be more particularly deſcribed in another place) began June 11th, and ended June 23. Francis ſpent the next day at Guiſnes with the queen and court of England; and Henry at Ardres with the queen and court of France. In their return, the two monarchs met, and ſpent ſome time in familiar converſation and expreſſions of mutual eſteem and friendſhip; after which they embraced and took their leave of one another [230]. Thus ended this famous interview, commonly called, *the field of cloth of gold*. It produced no effect of importance, and contributed nothing to increaſe the amity between the two kings and the two nations, though it contributed not a little to exhauſt their wealth [231].

Interview with the emperor.

Henry, with his queen and court, returned to Calais June 25th, where the cardinal aſſembled all

[230] Hall, f. 78—84.

[231] The following fact, related by the mareſchal de Fleuranges, moſt probably left an unfavourable impreſſion on the mind of Henry: "After the tournaments the French and Engliſh wreſtlers made their "appearance, and wreſtled before the kings and the ladies; the "Engliſh gained the prize. After this the kings retired to a tent "and drank together; and the king of England ſeizing the king of "France by the collar, ſaid, 'My brother, I muſt wreſtle with "you;' and endeavoured to trip up his heels; but the king of "France, who is a dexterous wreſtler, twiſted him round, and threw "him on the ground with great violence. The king of England at-"tempted to renew the combat, but was prevented." Memoires de Fleuranges, p. 329.

the

the Engliſh lords, knights, and gentlemen, thanked them for their honourable attendance on the king, and gave them leave to ſend home one half of their followers, and at the ſame time adviſed them to live warily. An advice which theſe haughty chieftains took very much amiſs[232]. Great preparations were made for viſiting the emperor at Gravelines, and receiving a viſit from him at Calais. Accordingly Henry ſet out July 10th, with a ſplendid retinue, and was met by the emperor and conducted into Gravelines. Charles had given orders to entertain all the Engliſh in the moſt friendly and hoſpitable manner, to efface any impreſſions that might have been made upon them in favour of the French at the late interview: and they ſeem to have been much pleaſed with their entertainment. Henry returned next day to Calais, accompanied by the emperor, his aunt Margaret, and the imperial court. Henry had cauſed a ſtupendous fabric of wood to be erected for their entertainment. It was of a circular form, eight hundred feet in circumference; and the ceiling was painted with a repreſentation of the heavenly bodies: but the roof of it was ſo much damaged by a ſtorm of wind, that it could not be repaired in time. Three days were ſpent in a continual round of banqueting, maſkings, balls, and other diverſions[233]. But Charles was not ſo much captivated by theſe vain amuſements as to neglect buſineſs. On the contrary, he laboured with ſo much art and aſſiduity to gain the favour of Wolſey, and conſequently of A. D. 1520.

[232] Hall, f. 85. [233] Id. ibid.

his

A. D. 1520. his maſter, that he ſucceeded; and their profeſſions of inviolable friendſhip to his rival Francis were forgotten. After the departure of the emperor, Henry returned to England, with his queen and court; having ſquandered, in a ſhort time, an incredible maſs of treaſure to no purpoſe.

A. D. 1521. Buckingham beheaded.

Edward Stafford duke of Buckingham, lord high conſtable of England, the richeſt and moſt powerful nobleman of the kingdom at this time, was lineally deſcended from Anne, the eldeſt daughter of Thomas of Woodſtock, youngeſt ſon of Edward III.; and being a weak, vain, ambitious man, had formed very abſurd and criminal projects, which he had not the prudence to conceal. He had offended cardinal Wolſey, by declaiming againſt him too freely, as the contriver of the late expenſive interview; and had made Charles Knevil, to whom he had communicated his projects, his enemy, by diſmiſſing him from the office of his ſteward. Knevil, either out of reſentment, or for fear of being involved in his ruin, diſcovered all he knew of the duke's deſigns to the cardinal. On this the duke was apprehended and committed to the Tower April 16th; as were alſo Knevil, ſir Gilbert Parke, his chancellor, John le Court, his confeſſor, and one Hopkins, a knaviſh monk, who had deluded him by pretended revelations from Heaven that he ſhould be king of England. The duke was brought to his trial in Weſtminſter-hall May 13th, before the duke of Norfolk as lord high ſteward, and eighteen other peers. It appeared from the depoſitions of the above four witneſſes, Knevil,

Knevil, Parke, Le Court, and Hopkins, that he had fixed his eyes upon the crown, and entertained hopes of obtaining it if the king died without a ſon: that theſe hopes were founded on his deſcent, his great eſtate, his noble connexions, his numerous retainers, and chiefly on the predictions of the impoſtor Hopkins: that, to promote his views, he had endeavoured to gain popularity by railing at the king's miniſters; and reprobating every meaſure of government, had laboured to increaſe the number of his retainers, and even to corrupt the king's ſervants by bribes. Charles Knevil, who was a gentleman, and nearly related to the duke, declared, that on the 4th of November he had ſaid to him at Eaſt Greenwich, "That when the king had reproved him for retaining ſir William Bulmer in his ſervice, if he had perceived that he would be ſent to the Tower, as he once ſuſpected, he would have requeſted an audience of the king; and if he had obtained it, he would have run him through the body with his dagger, as his father intended to have done to Richard III. at Saliſbury, if he had been admitted into his preſence." He was found guilty of high treaſon by the unanimous vote of his peers, and beheaded on Tower-hill May 17th[234]. Such was his haughtineſs, that when ſentence was pronounced upon him, he declared he would not aſk his life of the king. He appears to have been a deſperate and dangerous man, who had formed the moſt pernicious ſchemes, and was A. D. 1215.

[234] Stowe, p. 513—515.

capable

A. D. 1521. capable of the moſt criminal actions; and neither the king nor the cardinal could be blamed for bringing him to a trial, and permitting the ſentence againſt him to be executed.

War between the emperor and the king of France.

By the league of London, A. D. 1518, between the kings of France and England, into which the pope, the emperor Maximilian, and his ſon Charles king of Spain were admitted as principals, it was ſtipulated, that when one of the contracting parties was attacked, the other confederates ſhould firſt admoniſh the aggreſſor to deſiſt, which if he did not within one month, they were to declare themſelves his enemies [235]. A war was now become unavoidable between Charles and Francis, two of theſe confederates. They were both young, powerful, and ambitious; they had various claims upon one another, and each of them had formed ſchemes which it was the intereſt of the other to obſtruct. In a word, they were equally determined upon war, but neither of them was willing to appear the aggreſſor. Francis, however, with a view to take advantage of the civil war in Spain, encouraged Henry d'Albert, the expelled king of Navarre, to raiſe a body of troops in France for the recovery of his kingdom, which Charles was bound by treaty to reſtore, but refuſed. He alſo permitted the earl of Fleuranges to raiſe a ſmall army, and march to the aſſiſtance of his father the prince of Sedan, who had been injured by the emperor, and had ſent him a defiance. The emperor

[235] Rym. p. 624—631. Herbert, p. 312.

now

now called upon the king of England to interpoſe, A. D. 1521.
and Henry ſent an ambaſſador to admoniſh Francis to deſiſt from giving aid to the emperor's enemies, contrary to the ſtipulations in the league of London. With this admonition Francis complied, by commanding Fleuranges to diſband his army, that he might not give Henry a pretence of joining with the emperor againſt him, to which he ſuſpected he was inclined. But this compliance did not prevent a war. Charles ſent a powerful army to take vengeance, as he pretended, on the prince of Sedan, which obliged Francis to arm, and the war commenced without any formal declaration, leaving it difficult to determine who had been the aggreſſor. The flames of war were kindled alſo in Italy between theſe two princes, by the duplicity, or rather treachery of the pope, who, with a view to deceive the king of France, concluded a treaty with him for the conqueſt of the kingdom of Naples from the emperor, and at the ſame time, with great ſecrecy, concluded a contrary treaty with the emperor, for the conqueſt of the dukedom of Milan from the French, and immediately commenced a war for that purpoſe[236].

When the ſword was thus drawn, Henry offered his mediation to bring about a peace between theſe two powerful rivals, which was accepted with pleaſure by the emperor, and with heſitation and reluctance by Francis. Henry conſtituted his favourite cardinal Wolſey his plenipotentiary, with Henry mediates a peace.

[236] Herbert, p. 41, 42. Garnier, tom. xxiii. p. 323—347.

the

A. D. 1521. the moſt ample powers [237]. It is amuſing to obſerve, that though Henry, by the influence of his favourite, was in the intereſt of the emperor, yet in the cardinal's commiſſion, the extraordinary affection he had contracted for Francis at the late interview is expreſſed in the ſtrongeſt terms that could be invented [238]. The negotiations were appointed to be at Calais.

Bulls in favour of Wolſey.

Before Wolſey ſet out for Calais to execute his important commiſſion, he received two bulls from the pope, which clearly evince the extent of his influence. His dignity of legate *a latere* had been continued to him by ſeveral bulls, each granting it for two years. In that which he received at this time, the following extraordinary powers were given him—of making fifty counts palatine, fifty knights, fifty chaplains, and fifty notaries—of legitimating baſtards, and conferring the degree of doctor in divinity, law, and medicine [239]. Theſe favours were granted, to fix him in the intereſt of the emperor, and probably at the deſire of that prince. By another bull, authority was given him to grant licence to ſuch as he thought proper, to read the works of that peſtilent heretic Martin Luther, eſpecially to thoſe who deſired to read them with a deſign to write againſt them. This was intended to pave the way for the appearance of a royal champion for the pope, againſt the devil and Luther, who had formed a confederacy (as it was ſaid) againſt his holineſs and the church [240].

237 Rym. p. 748—752.
238 Ibid. p. 749.
239 Ibid. p. 741.
240 Ibid. p. 739—744.

This champion was Henry VIII. king of England, who wrote a whole book againſt Luther, with this title, *De Septem Sacramentis, contra Martinum Lutherum, Hereſiarchon, per illuſtriſſimum principem Henricum* VIII., &c. A copy of this book, beautifully written and elegantly bound, was preſented by the king's ambaſſador at Rome to the pope in full conſiſtory, and was received with the moſt flaming expreſſions of gratitude to, and admiration of, its royal author. His holineſs, to encourage this powerful champion in his cauſe, who could defend him by his ſword as well as by his pen, beſtowed upon him and his ſucceſſors the title of Defender of the Faith, by a bull ſubſcribed by himſelf and twenty-ſeven cardinals. This bull was accompanied by a letter from the pope to the king, which exhibits a curious ſpecimen of the groſſeſt flattery. After the moſt extravagant encomiums on his wiſdom, learning, and eloquence, the fervor of his zeal, and the warmth of his charity,—his gravity, gentleneſs, and meekneſs,—the order, ſolidity, and ſtrength of his arguments, his holineſs adds, "It is evident that you have "been inſpired by the Holy Spirit; and that if "thoſe againſt whom you have written had been "really men, and not the worſt of devils, they "muſt have been converted[241]." Henry ſwallowed all this flattery, and was exceſſively delighted with his new title, which he conſidered as an acquiſition of ineſtimable value.

A. D. 1521. Henry obtains a new title.

[241] Rym. p. 756—759.

A. D. 1521. Congreſs at Calais.

Cardinal Wolſey landed at Calais Auguſt 2d, and was received with as much pomp and ceremony as if he had been king of England. The ambaſſadors of the emperor and the king of France arrived at the ſame place about the ſame time, and conferences for a treaty of peace began to be held before the cardinal as mediator. The emperor, who (ſecure of the aſſiſtance of the king of England) did not really deſire peace, directed his ambaſſadors to make demands which he knew would not be granted, and gave them no power to make any abatement of theſe demands. The French plenipotentiaries were greatly provoked at this haughtineſs, at which the cardinal alſo affected to appear diſpleaſed, and told them with much ſeeming candour, that if he had a perſonal conference with the emperor, he hoped to prevail upon him to make peace on more moderate terms; and that he was determined to take a journey to Bruges (where the emperor then reſided) for that purpoſe. The French plenipotentiaries remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt this, as inconſiſtent with that impartiality which it became a mediator to obſerve, and threatened to break off the conferences and retire. But Wolſey told them plainly, that if they departed from Calais before he returned from Bruges, he would declare them the aggreſſors in the war, and enemies to peace and to the king of England. That they might not give him a pretence for doing this, they were conſtrained to remain and await his return.

The

The cardinal ſet out from Calais Auguſt 12th, attended by the imperial ambaſſadors, and a ſplendid train of prelates, nobles, knights, and gentlemen. The emperor met him a mile out of Bruges, into which he conducted him in a kind of triumph, and treated him with the moſt flattering marks of reſpect. He continued thirteen days at the imperial court, and had frequent conferences with the emperor and his miniſters. But the object of theſe conferences was, not a treaty of peace between the emperor and the king of France, but a treaty of confederacy between the pope, the emperor and the king of England, for a war againſt that prince. The preliminaries of that treaty were then ſettled which were to be reduced into form, and ratified within three months, and in the mean time to be kept a profound ſecret[242]. As this treacherous ſcheme had been formed before the cardinal left England, he obtained a commiſſion from the king July 29th, giving him full power and authority to make treaties and form confederacies with the pope, the emperor, the king of France, or any other king, prince, or ſtate, which the king ſolemnly bound himſelf to confirm and ratify[243]. At a great entertainment which the emperor gave the cardinal and his attendants a few days before their departure, one of the imperial miniſters ſtood up and made a moſt violent declamation againſt the king of France, enumerating all the injuries he had done to the emperor[244].

A. D. 1521. Cardinal viſits the emperor.

[242] Hall, f. 87. Stowe, p. 514. Herbert, p. 43, 44.
[243] Rym. p. 750.
[244] Hall, f. 88.

A. D. 1521. No formal reply was made to this harangue; but ſome Engliſh knights cried out, "Sir, you have ſaid well; and as God will, all muſt be." This ſeems to have been intended to prepare the minds of the Engliſh for the ſcene that was ſoon to be opened.

The cardinal having finiſhed his buſineſs at Bruges, (which was very different from his pretended errand,) returned to Calais Auguſt 27th, and reſumed the conferences for peace, which he well knew would be unſucceſsful. That ſomething, however, might be done at this famous congreſs, on which the eyes of all Europe were fixed, the cardinal produced a treaty, prepared by himſelf, to which the plenipotentiaries of both the belligerent powers conſented. By this treaty it was ſtipulated, 1. That no diſturbance ſhould be given to the fiſhermen of any nation. 2. That no ſhips of any nation ſhould be taken near the coaſts, or in the bays, ports, and rivers of England. 3. That ſatisfaction ſhould be given for any Engliſh ſhips that had been taken. 4. That couriers ſhould be permitted to paſs unmoleſted between the imperial and French courts and Calais. 5. That when the congreſs broke up, all the members of it, with their retinues, ſhould be permitted to return home in ſafety[245]. Wolſey, in concert with the emperor, having detained the French plenipotentiaries at Calais as long as he could, the congreſs at laſt broke up, after it had continued about three months to very little purpoſe.

[245] Rym. p. 751.

The

The cardinal landed at Dover November 27th, after an abſence of almoſt four months. This long abſence was attended with many inconveniences. As he had carried the great ſeal with him, all who had any buſineſs with it were obliged to repair to Calais: and there was no nomination of ſheriffs this year. The king had delegated ſo much power to his favourite, that he had left little to himſelf, and that little he would not exerciſe, without conſulting his abſent oracle by letters, and receiving his advices, or rather directions [246]. In his capacity of mediator, the cardinal acted a part equally diſhonourable and imprudent; by which he deſtroyed the balance of power between the emperor and the king of France, which it was the intereſt of the king of England to preſerve. He had alſo affronted his too indulgent maſter in the moſt public manner, by placing himſelf on a level with him, as joint-guarantee of the above-mentioned treaty, which was dictated by himſelf [247]. But notwithſtanding all this, Henry received him with the ſtrongeſt marks of friendſhip. So great an aſcendant had this artful man gained over the ſpirit of the proudeſt prince in the world.

A. D. 1521. Inconvenience of the cardinal's abſence.

The emperor Charles V. had gained cardinal Wolſey, not only by the great penſions he had ſettled upon him, but chiefly by the ſolemn promiſes he had given him, that he would promote his advancement to the papal throne, with all his power, on the firſt vacancy. That vacancy happened ſooner than either the emperor or Wolſey

A. D. 1522. Death of pope Leo X.

[246] Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 27—33. [247] Rym. p. 754.

A. D. 1522. expected. Leo X. though only in the prime of life, was ſeized with a fever, of which he died December 2d, A. D. 1521. As ſoon as the news of this event reached England, Henry diſpatched doctor Pace, an able negotiator, to Rome, to promote the election of his favourite; and the cardinal put the emperor in mind of his promiſes. But before doctor Pace arrived at Rome, cardinal Adrian, biſhop of Tortoſa, who had been preceptor to the emperor, was choſen January 9th, A. D. 1522, by one of thoſe fineſſes which have not been uncommon in the conclave [248]. How far cardinal Wolſey was diſpleaſed with the conduct of the emperor on this occaſion, or how far he had reaſon to be diſpleaſed with it, cannot be diſcovered; but he exhibited no marks of diſſatisfaction with that prince in his public meaſures.

The emperor arrives in England.

The civil wars in Spain having rendered the emperor's preſence there abſolutely neceſſary, he reſolved to viſit England in his way thither, ſtill further to ingratiate himſelf with Henry, and to ſoothe the cardinal on his late diſappointment, with freſh promiſes and additional penſions. This viſit had been even ſtipulated in the preliminary treaty at Bruges, in which alſo a marriage had been propoſed between the emperor and the princeſs Mary, the king of England's only child, and heireſs of his dominions [249]. The emperor accordingly arrived at Dover May 26th, where he was received by the cardinal, and conducted by eaſy journies, and with great pomp, to Greenwich, where the

248 Herbert, p. 45. 249 Id. p. 44.

court

court then reſided. There he was introduced to the queen, his aunt, and to his young couſin and miſtreſs the princeſs Mary. Henry ſeems to have been highly pleaſed with the honour done him by this viſit, and to have exhauſted his ſkill to diſplay his magnificence, and entertain the emperor and his courtiers, with ſiltings, tournaments, maſkings, pageants, dancings, and all the ſtately and very expenſive diverſions of the great in thoſe times [250]. A. D. 1522.

Though war had not been declared, hoſtilities had already commenced between France and England. The Engliſh merchants complained loudly that many of their ſhips had been taken by the French; and in particular, that a whole fleet loaded with wine had been ſeized at Bourdeaux, and the merchants caſt into priſon. The Engliſh had made repriſals, and Henry commanded all the French and Scots in London to be apprehended and impriſoned. He had alſo inſtructed ſir Thomas Cheeney, his ambaſſador at the court of France, to demand ſatisfaction for all the injuries that had been done to his ſubjects, and to propoſe a truce between Francis and the emperor for two years; and if he received a refuſal, to denounce war by a herald, who had been ſent for that purpoſe [251]. This was the ſtate of affairs when the emperor arrived in England. Hoſtilities between France and England.

On the morning of June 5th, when Henry was arming for a tournament, he received letters from ſir Thomas Cheeney, acquainting him that he had obeyed his inſtructions, and that his propoſals War declared againſt France.

[250] Hall, f. 94. [251] Id. f. 95.

A. D. 1522. had been rejected by the king of France: and that Clarenceaux king at arms, had denounced war againſt that prince, May 21ſt, at Lyons, in the following words: "Sir, I am charged to tell you, "the king, my ſovereign lord, holdeth you for his "mortal enemy this day furth, and all your adhe-"rents." To which the French king had replied: "I looked for this a great while agone; for ſith "the cardinal was at Bruges I looked for nothing "elſe. But you have done your meſſage[252]." The king immediately communicated this important intelligence to the emperor, and after a ſhort conference they both proceeded to the tournament.

Treaties. This news did not interrupt the diverſions of the court; and on the day after it arrived, June 6th, the emperor and the king made their public entry into London with prodigious pomp, and were received by the citizens in their beſt array, and entertained with a great variety of pageants, and a profuſion of Latin verſes in their praiſe[253]. The two monarchs ſpent their time in feaſting, hunting, and other diverſions, at different places, while their miniſters were employed in forming the articles that had been agreed upon at Bruges, and others, into a definitive treaty, which was ſigned and ratified by the oaths of both princes June 19th, at Windſor. This treaty conſiſted of twenty-one articles. By the firſt ſix articles, all the conditions of the emperor's marriage with the princeſs Mary were ſettled; both parties binding themſelves not

[252] Hall, f. 95. [253] Id. f. 96, 97.

to

to prevent the celebration of it under a penalty of 400,000 crowns. By the other fifteen articles, the plan of their military operations in the war againſt France was fixed. By one of theſe laſt articles (the 13th) it was ſtipulated, "That both princes "appearing before the cardinal of York as judge, "in what place he ſhall chooſe, ſhall voluntarily "ſubmit to his juriſdiction as legate; and con- "feſſing themſelves to be bound to obſerve this "treaty, ſhall require the legate to pronounce the "ſentence of excommunication againſt them, if "they violate the articles thereof[254]." A remarkable ſtipulation, which ſets the power and influence of the cardinal at this time in a very ſtrong light. At the ſame time the emperor ſigned an obligation, called *the indemnity*; by which he bound himſelf "to ſave king Henry "harmleſs for all the ſums of money and penſions "which were or ſhould be due to king Henry "from Francis, (upon former agreements betwixt "them,) and now were or ſhould be withheld by "the ſaid Francis, upon denunciation of war "againſt him[255]." A. D. 1522.

Charles V. courts the cardinal, &c.

The emperor took care to indemnify the cardinal for any loſs he might ſuſtain by the war between France and England, of which he had been the author, by granting him an additional penſion of 9000 crowns of gold of the ſun, yearly, during his life, at London, June 8th[256]. Beſides this, he renewed and redoubled his aſſurances of promoting his elevation to the papal throne on the

[254] Herbert, p. 48. [255] Id. [256] Rym. p. 769.

next

A.D. 1522. next vacancy, which, from the age and infirmities of pope Adrian, could not be very diſtant. Charles was too wiſe to neglect the other Engliſh miniſters, particularly the earl of Surrey, lord high admiral of England, whom he appointed admiral of all his fleets by a commiſſion dated at London June 8th [257]. This was a very flattering compliment, not only to the king and the earl, but even to the whole nation. On Corpus Chriſti-day the emperor was inſtalled as knight of the garter at Windſor; after which both princes took the ſacrament, and ſwore to the faithful performance of their treaties [258].

Maritime expedition. When Charles V. had ſpent about ſix weeks in England, and ingratiated himſelf with the king, his favourite, and his miniſters, he ſailed from Southampton, July 6th, with all his fleet, for Spain [259]. The earl of Surrey, lord high admiral of Spain and England, ſailed from the ſame port about ten days before, with an Engliſh fleet of thirty ſhips, to ſcour the channel, and ſecure a free paſſage to the emperor. Having performed that ſervice, he landed with ſeven thouſand men July 1ſt, took, plundered, and burned the rich commercial town of Morlaix in Brittany, and returned to his ſhips the ſame evening. After this he made ſeveral deſcents upon the coaſts, collected much booty, burned many towns and villages, brought his fleet back to England loaded with plunder, and preſented himſelf to the king July 21ſt [260]. He

[257] Herbert, p. 49. [258] Hall, f. 99. [259] Id.
[260] Hall, f. 100.

was

was moſt graciouſly received, as he well deſerved, A. D. 1522. and appointed to command an army which was then raiſing for the invaſion of Picardy.

Loan and benevolence.

The national animoſity of the Engliſh againſt France was now rouſed, and nothing was wanting to a vigorous attack of that kingdom but money, which is juſtly called the ſinews of war. Beſides his habitual extravagance, Henry had lately ſquandered prodigious ſums on his interview with the king of France, and his entertainment of the emperor; and his treaſury was almoſt empty. He and his favourite were ſtill unwilling to call a parliament, (the only conſtitutional method of ſupplying the wants of a king of England,) but had recourſe to other expedients, which have been always unpopular, and ſeldom effectual. The king demanded a loan of 20,000l. from the city of London; which with ſome difficulty, he obtained, upon granting an obligation, ſigned by himſelf and the cardinal, for the repayment. Loans were alſo demanded from other cities and towns, and even from many opulent individuals, in proportion to what it was believed they could afford to lend [261]. About two months after this loan, the king iſſued commiſſions to take a ſurvey of the whole kingdom, ſimilar to that which had been taken by William the Conqueror, with a view to demand of the laity the tenth of their moveable goods and rents, and of the clergy (over whom the cardinal's power was abſolute) a fourth, as a voluntary aid or benevolence. But this dangerous illegal demand met

[261] Hall, f. 99.

with

A. D. 1522. with ſo much oppoſition, particularly in London, that the cardinal, with all his power and pride, found it neceſſary to depart from the rigorous exaction of it, and to content himſelf with what he could obtain by the milder arts of influence and perſuaſion [262].

Invaſion of France. By theſe methods conſiderable ſums were collected, and two armies were raiſed; one in the north, under the earl of Shrewſbury, againſt the Scots; the other in the ſouth, under the earl of Surrey, againſt the French. The earl of Surrey, with an army of ſixteen thouſand men, landed at Calais about the middle of Auguſt; and being ſoon after joined by a body of Spaniſh and German troops, entered Picardy, deſolated the open country and defenceleſs towns, by burning the houſes of the peaſants and the caſtles of the nobleſſe, and deſtroying every thing they could not carry away. The only military operation in which they engaged was the ſiege of Heſden, which they were obliged to raiſe for want of heavy artillery. After this, the earl diſmiſſed the Spaniſh and German troops, and conducted his own army back to Calais, with a very great booty [263]. The earl, having put ſtrong garriſons into all the towns on the marches, returned to England with the reſt of his army, and was very graciouſly received by the king and cardinal.

Surrey lord treaſurer. Thomas duke of Norfolk, being far advanced in life, reſigned the office of lord high treaſurer,

[262] Hall. f. 102. Stowe, p. 515.

[263] Viz. 14,000 ſheep, 14,000 black cattle, 13,000 hogs, 600 mares and horſes, beſides many priſoners. Hall, f. 103.

which he had long held in the late and preſent reign, into the king's hands; who immediately beſtowed it upon his valiant ſon, the earl of Surrey, lord high admiral of England and Spain, and general of the army; the only Engliſh ſubject who was, at the ſame time, entruſted with the cuſtody of the treaſures, and the command of the forces of the kingdom by ſea and land [264]. A. D. 1522.

The cardinal ſtill continued in high favour, and received frequent additions of power and riches. On the application of the king, the pope granted him the rich biſhopric of Durham *in commendam*; and Henry reſtored the temporalties April 30th, and about the ſame time gave him the wardſhip of Edward earl of Derby [265]. His revenues at this time could not be much inferior to thoſe of the king, and were certainly ſuperior to thoſe of ſeveral other kings. A. D. 1523. Favour of Wolſey.

The money raiſed by the late loan and benevolence was far from being ſufficient to ſupport the war againſt France and Scotland, into which the cardinal had wantonly plunged his country, to promote his own ambitious views. He was conſtrained, therefore, to adviſe the king to call a parliament, which met at the Black-friars, London, April 15th. Doctor Tunſtal, biſhop of London, inſtead of the cardinal, opened the parliament with a ſpeech; in which he praiſed the king (who was preſent) in the moſt flattering ſtrains, for his great learning, wiſdom, juſtice, and love of his ſubjects. He told the two houſes, that they were called to Parliament.

[264] Rym. p. 777.

[265] Id. 783. 788, 789.

reform

A. D. 1523. reform the imperfections of the common law, to correct erroneous judgments, and to make good ſtatutes; but ſaid not one word of a ſupply, which was the real and only reaſon of their being called [266]. Sir Thomas More was choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons; and in his ſpeech to the king was no leſs laviſh of his flattery than the biſhop had been [267].

Subſidy. It was not long before the demand of a ſupply was introduced, and in a very uncommon manner. The cardinal propoſed to make the demand in the houſe of commons in perſon, which occaſioned a debate in that houſe, whether he ſhould be admitted or not, and in what manner. At length, the ſpeaker perſuaded the houſe "to receive him with all his "pompe, with his maces, his piliars, his poll-axes, "his croſs, his hat, and the great ſeal too [268]." He entered accordingly, in great ſtate, attended by a train of prelates and noblemen; and, in a long harangue, declaimed vehemently againſt the king of France, for his ambition, his breach of oaths and treaties, by making war on the king's deareſt nephew the emperor, and by ſending the duke of Albany into Scotland to excite the Scots to invade England, &c. which had compelled the king to declare war againſt him: that the expences of this war had been calculated, and amounted to 800,000l. which he deſired them to raiſe, by granting the king a fifth of all rents and moveables, to be paid in four years. When the cardinal had finiſhed the

[266] Rolls of Parl. 14 Hen. VIII.

[267] Parl. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 28. [268] Ibid. p. 29.

harangue,

harangue, a profound ſilence enſued, which offended him not a little. The ſpeaker then falling on his knees, excuſed the ſilence of the houſe, by ſaying that they were abaſhed at the ſight of ſo noble a perſonage, which was enough to amaze the wiſeſt and moſt learned men of the realm. As for himſelf, except all the members preſent could put their ſeveral thoughts into his head, he was unable to give his grace an anſwer in ſo weighty a matter [269]. The cardinal then retired very much diſpleaſed with the houſe, and particularly with the ſpeaker. After his departure a warm debate took place. Some of the members affirmed, that there was not above 800,000l. of caſh in the kingdom; and if all the money were in the king's hands, no trade could be carried on but by barter. The courtiers advanced many plauſible arguments to induce the houſe to comply with the demand, but could not carry their point at that time. The king was enraged at this oppoſition, and threatened, it is ſaid, ſome of the leading members with death, if they did not paſs his bill [270]. The cardinal, anxious about the iſſue of this affair, went to the houſe of commons a ſecond time, to reaſon, as he ſaid, with thoſe who oppoſed the king's demands. The ſpeaker told him, that they would hear his grace with great humility; but, by the orders of the houſe, they could reaſon only among themſelves. The cardinal then made a ſpeech, to prove that the kingdom was ſo rich and flouriſhing, that the demanded ſubſidy might be raiſed with eaſe, and then retired [271]. This ſpeech A. D. 1523.

[269] Parl. Hiſt. vol. viii. p. 30. [270] Ibid. p 35. [271] Hall, f. 1.

rather

A. D. 1523. rather irritated than convinced the oppoſing members. After long and warm debates, the ſpeaker, by the moſt earneſt entreaties, prevailed on the houſe to paſs the bill, with ſome ſlight amendments. The king and his favourite were ſo much diſguſted by the oppoſition they had met with on this occaſion, that no parliament was called for ſeven years.

Grant of the clergy. The clergy were exempted from the above ſubſidy; becauſe they had already aſſeſſed themſelves in convocation at a much higher rate. The clergy of the province of York (who were under the abſolute ſway of the cardinal) granted the king one half-year of all eccleſiaſtical revenues in that province, to be paid in five years[272]. The clergy of the province of Canterbury, in a convocation held in St. Paul's at the ſame time with the parliament, made a ſimilar grant. One reaſon they give for their liberality is, their gratitude to the king for his moſt learned and never enough to be praiſed book, which had quite cruſhed the Lutheran hereſy[273]. In this the good men were a little miſtaken.

State of France. France was at this time in a moſt dangerous ſituation; threatened with great calamities, if not with total ruin. The confederacy formed againſt it, by the pope, the emperor, the king of England, the Venetians, and all the other ſtates and princes of Italy, ſeemed more than ſufficient to overwhelm it, when it was without a ſingle ally, but the king of Scotland, who was a minor, and poſſeſſed little authority over his turbulent nobles. The internal

[272] Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 698. [273] Ibid. p. 699.

ſtate

ſtate of the kingdom was ſtill more threatening than all its foreign enemies. Francis, by his expenſive pleaſures, his profuſe donations to his favourites, with his wars in Italy and at home, had exhauſted all his treaſures, and involved himſelf in great debts. The troops being ill paid and under little diſcipline, infeſted the highways, plundered the unhappy peaſants, and filled the whole kingdom with diſtreſs and diſcontent. The court was, at the ſame time, a ſcene of riot, and of the moſt violent factions; while a ſecret and moſt dangerous conſpiracy was formed by a prince of the blood, to betray the king and kingdom to their foreign enemies. Of this conſpiracy Francis entertained ſome ſuſpicions, but was ignorant of its extent and maturity [274]. A. D. 1523.

In this ſituation of his affairs, Francis was ſo far from being intimidated, that he was eagerly engaged in preparing for an expedition into Italy, for the recovery of his dominions in that country. "All the world," ſaid he, "have conſpired againſt "me, but I fear them not. The emperor hath no "money; the Engliſh cannot penetrate far into "my kingdom; the militia of the Low Countries "can do me little harm. I will march into Italy, "ſubdue my enemies there, and return ſoon "enough to recover what I may have loſt in "France [275]." He marched accordingly, at the head of a gallant army; having appointed his mother, Louiſe of Savoy, regent of the kingdom Intrepidity of Francis.

[274] Garnier, Hiſt. Fran. ann. 1523. tom. xxiii, xxiv.

[275] Ibid. tom. xxiii. p. 482.

A.D. 1523. in his abſence. But when he arrived at Lyons, the reports of the conſpiracy became ſo alarming that he halted, and ſent forward the greateſt part of his troops, under his favourite Bonivet, admiral of France, into Italy. Soon after this, in the beginning of Auguſt, a full diſcovery of the following plot was made by two gentlemen, to whom it had been communicated under an oath of ſecrecy.

Revolt of the duke of Bourbon.

Charles duke of Bourbon, prince of the blood, great chamberlain and conſtable of France, was the richeſt and moſt powerful in that kingdom. He was brave, generous, and popular, but ſo haughty and vindictive, that he was commonly called *Charles the impatient*. Louiſe of Savoy, the king's mother, captivated with the charms of his perſon, got hints conveyed to him, that his addreſſes to her would not be diſagreeable. He rejected the propoſal with diſdain, accompanied with ſome ſevere ſarcaſms on her gallantries. Enraged at this, ſhe irritated the king againſt the conſtable. Whatever he aſked, however juſt, was refuſed. He was treated in general with ſuch neglect, or rather contempt, that he ſeldom appeared at court, and became violently diſcontented. At laſt a proceſs was commenced againſt him in the parliament of Paris, by the king and his mother, which threatened him with the loſs of many great eſtates and almoſt total ruin. On this his reſentment became ungovernable, and he determined to be revenged. He found means to communicate his reſolution to the emperor and the king of England, and concluded a ſecret treaty with theſe two princes, which

which had for its object the deſtruction of the royal family of France, and the diſmemberment of the French monarchy. By this treaty the conſtable was to marry Eleanor, queen dowager of Portugal, the emperor's ſiſter; the emperor and the king of England were to invade France from the ſouth and north with two powerful armies, and by an army of mercenaries in another quarter, while Bourbon raiſed a formidable rebellion in the heart of the kingdom. When the conqueſt was completed, Provence and Dauphine, with ſome contiguous teritorries, were to be erected into a kingdom for Bourbon, and the other provinces divided between the emperor and the king of England. A cruel conſpiracy! (for it deſerves no better name;) which reflects as little honour on the two monarchs as on Bourbon, who was hurried on by too violent a reſentment of real injuries. If this plot had not been diſcovered before Francis had paſſed the Alps with his army, (when it was to be put in execution,) the conſequences might have been very fatal to France. Bourbon made his eſcape out of the kingdom in diſguiſe, and joined the imperial army in Italy. Francis reſolved to remain at home, to guard againſt the approaching invaſion [276]. A. D. 1523.

Military operations.

Theſe invaſions ſoon took place, as Henry and the emperor had their forces in readineſs to have co-operated with Bourbon on his rebellion. The duke of Suffolk, commander of the Engliſh army, landed at Calais Auguſt 24th, and with the troops

[276] Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 1, &c. Mem. de Bellay, p. 64, &c. Paſquier, p. 431. Rym. p. 794, 795.

A. D. 1523. he brought from England, and thoſe he collected from the garriſons of Calais, Hams, and Guiſnes, formed an army of about thirteen thouſand men. He marched September 19th, and the day after joined the imperial forces, and with them invaded Picardy. Meeting with no army to oppoſe them in the field, they ravaged the open country, took and plundered ſeveral towns, paſſed the rivers Soame and Oyſe, and advanced within eleven leagues of Paris, which greatly alarmed the inhabitants of that capital [277]. But though the combined armies met with no enemy able to give them battle, they had ſeveral difficulties to encounter. The duke de Tremeuile, who commanded in thoſe parts, hovered continually near them with a great body of cavalry; beat up their quarters, intercepted their convoys; and haraſſed them by frequent ſkirmiſhes. The ſeaſon was uncommonly rainy, and the roads almoſt impracticable. The troops became ſickly, diſcontented, and earneſt in their deſire to return home. With this deſire the commanders complied: the two armies ſeparated on their march, and the duke of Suffolk arrived at Calais in December, with the Engliſh forces, very much diminiſhed in their numbers, without retaining poſſeſſion of one place in the enemy's country. Henry was ſo much enraged at ſeeing all his ſanguine hopes of conqueſt blaſted, that the duke thought it prudent to remain at Calais till his anger abated. The emperor was equally unſucceſsful on his ſide; and France, which at the be-

[277] Hall, f. 114, &c.

ginning

ginning of this campaign was threatened with total ruin, at the end of it had not loſt a ſingle town, or one foot of territory. A. D. 1523.

Pope elected.

Henry and his favourite met with another diſappointment at this time. Pope Adrian VI. died September 14th. As this event had been expected from the age and infirmities of Adrian, proper inſtructions had been given to the king's ambaſſadors at Rome to promote the election of cardinal Wolſey. The firſt diſpatches he received from the ambaſſadors gave him great hopes of ſucceſs. In a letter he ſent to the king with theſe diſpatches September 29th, he ſays, "In what train "thematters there were, at that time, for the elec- "tion of the future pope, your highneſs ſhall per- "ceive by the letters of your orators, which I ſend "at this time, whereby it appeareth, that mine ab- "ſence from thence ſhall be the only obſtacle (if "any be) of the election of me to that dignity[278]." By another letter to the king October 1ſt, he tells him, that he had prepared inſtructions for the ambaſſadors, which he deſired his highneſs to ſign; and adds. "To the intent alſo, that the emperor "may the more effectually and ſpeedily concurre "with your highneſs for the furtherance hereof, I "have deviſed a familiar letter in the name of "your grace, to be directed unto his majeſty: "which if it may pleaſe your highneſs to take the "payne for to write with your own hand, putting "thereunto your ſecret ſign and mark, being be- "tween your grace and the ſaid emperor, ſhall

[278] Burnet, Hiſt. Reform. Records, No. VII.

A.D. 1523. "undoubtedly do ſingular benefit and furtherance "to your gracious intent and virtuous purpoſe in "that behalf[279]."

All this was done, and neither money nor promiſes were ſpared; but in vain. Cardinal Julio de Medici was choſen pope November 19th, and took the name of Clement VII. Thus was cardinal Wolſey again diſappointed in his hopes of aſcending the papal throne. He bore his diſappointment with great compoſure; and whatever reſentment he entertained againſt the emperor, who had not performed his promiſes, he, like a prudent politician, concealed it till he could diſcover it with effect. In his letter to the king December 6th, with the news of the election, he makes no mention of the emperor; but aſcribes his own diſappointment to his abſence from Rome, and expreſſes his ſatisfaction with the choice that had been made in very ſtrong terms. "As for my "part," ſays he, "I take God to witneſs I am "more joyous thereof, than if it had fortuned on "my perſon[280]." It is not improbable that the cardinal diſſembled a little on this occaſion, and that he was not quite ſo well pleaſed as he pretended.

A.D. 1524. Military operations

The two late invaſions of Picardy had been ſo expenſive and unſucceſsful, that nothing of that kind was attempted this year; and the whole campaign in thoſe parts exhibited only a few ſkirmiſhes between the garriſons in the Engliſh pale and thoſe

[279] Burnet, Hiſt. Reform. Records, No. VIII.
[280] Ibid. No. X.

on

on the frontiers of France [281]. It is probable, however, that Henry had ſome other reaſons for this inaction, beſide the expence and ill-ſucceſs of the two former invaſions; but theſe reaſons cannot be diſcovered with certainty. The military operations in Italy and the ſouth of France were more important. The Spaniſh army, commanded by the conſtable of Caſtile, inveſted Fontarabia about the middle of January. This ſeemed to be a raſh, or rather deſperate undertaking. The place was ſtrong, furniſhed with a ſufficient garriſon, and abundance of ammunition and proviſions; but the garriſon was ill-choſen. Don Pedro, hereditary marſhal of Navarre, was at the head of a ſtrong body of his countrymen, who with him had followed the fortunes of their exiled ſovereign, of whoſe reſtoration there were now little or no hopes. The conſtable of Caſtile, uncle to Don Pedro, got ſuch tempting offers conveyed to him and his followers, that they had not the fortitude to reſiſt. A treaty was privately concluded, by which Don Pedro and all his troops were to be reſtored to all their honours and eſtates in Navarre, on the ſurrender of the place: and they perſuaded, or rather compelled, Frauget the governor, to capitulate about the middle of February, when the fortifications were entire, and the garriſon in want of nothing. Francis was enraged at the ſhameful ſurrender of this important place; and as Don Pedro was out of his reach, all his vengeance fell A. D. 1524.

[281] Hall.

A.D. 1524. upon Frauget, who was proclaimed a coward, and declared infamous and ignoble [282].

continued. The duke of Bourbon having contributed greatly in the laſt campaign to the expulſion of the French under admiral Bonivet out of Italy, propoſed to invade Provence this year, in hopes of being joined by many of his own friends and thoſe of his family, as ſoon as he appeared at the head of an army. This propoſal was approved by the emperor and the king of England, who engaged to advance 109,000 crowns, for the firſt month's pay and ſubſiſtence of the duke's army, and to invade Picardy in July; and the emperor engaged to ſupport and pay the duke's army during the reſt of the campaign, and to invade Languedoc at the ſame time [283]. The duke of Bourbon entered Provence with his army July 2d, and met with litttle or no oppoſition. His ſcheme was to march into thoſe parts where his own eſtates lay, and where he expected to be joined by his vaſſals; but the emperor commanded him to beſiege Marſeilles. He inveſted that place Auguſt 19th; but he met with a more vigorous reſiſtance than he expected. The garriſon, which conſiſted of three thouſand two hundred men, being joined by nine thouſand of the inhabitants, who took up arms, made a brave defence. Neither the emperor nor the king of England invaded France, which permitted Francis to collect all his forces for the relief of Marſeilles; and he marched from Avignon towards

[282] Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 54. [283] Rym. p. 794, 795.

that

that place, at the head of forty thouſand men, A. D. 1524.
which obliged Bourbon to raiſe the ſiege, and retire with great precipitation into Italy [284]. The inaction of the emperor during this campaign may be accounted for from his want of money to ſupport another army. It is more difficult to account for Henry's neglecting to invade Picardy, according to his engagement. It appears from a proclamation preſerved by a contemporary hiſtorian, that he entertained ſome thoughts of doing this when the ſeaſon was too far advanced. That proclamation was dated September 10th, commanding thoſe noblemen and gentlemen to whom it was ſent to be in readineſs, with their followers, for an expedition into France, but not to march till they received a ſecond command [285]. That command they never received, owing to the advanced ſeaſon, and perhaps to ſome other reaſons, which it was not though proper to publiſh.

If Francis could have been contented with the honour of having defended his dominions againſt all his enemies, he would have preſerved himſelf and his ſubjects from many calamities. But finding himſelf at the head of a gallant army, he could not reſiſt the inclination of marching into Italy, for the recovery of the duchy of Milan, on which he had ſet his heart. Having appointed his mother regent of the kingdom, he ſet out at the head of his army, and proceeded with ſo much diligence, that a detachment of his troops entered Milan at one gate,

[284] Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 94. Bellay, lib. xi.
[285] Hall, f. 130.

at

A. D. 1524. at the ſame time that the duke of Bourbon entered it at another. The duke, having reinforced the garriſon of the caſtle, retired with the ſhattered remains of his army to Lodi. If Francis had purſued them, (as his moſt experienced generals adviſed him,) they muſt either have ſurrendered, or evacuated the country; and he would have obtained poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe almoſt without bloodſhed. But his favourite Bonivet, who had more influence with him than all his other generals, was of a different opinion, and adviſed the ſiege of Pavia, which was formed in November, and puſhed with great vigour. But finding that all his efforts were ineffectual, he converted the ſiege into a blockade about the end of this year [286].

Henry changes his diſpoſition.

It is eaſy to perceive that Henry's animoſity againſt Francis, and his attachment to the emperor, now began to abate. This is evident from his neglecting to invade Picardy according to his engagement, when he might have done it with the greateſt proſpect of ſucceſs. It is further evident, from his demanding immediate payment of the money Charles had borrowed when he was in England, and of the great ſums due by the treaty of Windſor, at a time when he knew he could not pay them [287]. This change in Henry's diſpoſitions was probable owing to the artful inſinuations of his favourite, cardinal Wolſey. But whatever was the cauſe of this change, the effects of it were too viſible to eſcape the notice of either Charles or

[286] Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 109. Bellay, lib. xi. P. Martyr, ep. 805. [287] Guicciardini, lib. xv.

Francis.

Francis. The former became jealous of his great ally, and the latter began to entertain hopes of a reconciliation with his moſt formidable adverſary. To promote this, the regent ſent a private agent, one John Joachim, to London, who was well received by the cardinal, with whom he had ſeveral ſecret interviews [288]. This being diſcovered by the papal reſident, he ſent accounts of it to his maſter, adviſing him to make peace with Francis as ſoon as poſſible, that he might have the merit of being before the king of England. His holineſs took the hint, and concluded a ſecret treaty of peace with Francis in his camp before Pavia [289]. A. D. 1524.

While Francis blockaded Pavia in the beginning of this year, he ſent out two large detachments, one of about ſix thouſand men, under the duke of Albany, to invade Naples; and another of nearly the ſame number, under the marquis of Soluzes, to attempt the recovery of Genoa [290]. This was a very imprudent meaſure, by which he encouraged his enemies and weakened his own army. It was further weakened by the departure of 6000 Griſons into their own country, and by ſome other accidents. A. D. 1525. French army weakened.

When the imperial generals had recovered from the conſternation with which they had been ſeized, and ſaw with joy that Francis, inſtead of purſuing them, had engaged in the ſiege of Pavia, they exerted themſelves with great activity in collecting troops from all quarters, and forming an army. The duke of Bourbon, by pawning his jewels, pro- Battle of Pavia.

288 Hall, f. 135. 289 Herbert, p. 62. 290 Ibid.

cured

A. D. 1525. cured a ſum of money, with which he levied twelve thouſand Lanſquinets in Germany, and conducted them into Italy. By the beginning of February they thought themſelves ſtrong enough to take the field, and on the 7th of that month approached the French camp before Pavia. Their deſign was to throw a ſupply of men, ammunition and proviſions into that place, and to hazard a battle rather than ſuffer it to be taken before their faces. They ſpent almoſt three weeks in this ſituation, without being able to accompliſh their deſign. In the mean time ſeveral councils were held in the French camp, and ſome of his beſt commanders earneſtly entreated Francis to raiſe the ſiege, and retire to Milan; aſſuring him that the enemy's army would be obliged to diſband in a ſhort time for want of pay. But admiral Bonivet, knowing the king's inclination, treated this cautious counſel with great contempt, as daſtardly and diſhonourable, and inſiſted on continuing the ſiege, which was reſolved. La Noy, viceroy of Naples, the duke of Bourbon, the marquis de Piſcaire, and the other imperial generals, finding that it would be impoſſible to keep the field much longer, for want of money to pay and ſubſiſt their troops, determined to hazard a battle. Very early in the morning of February 24th (the emperor's birth day), they aſſaulted the French camp, forced their lines, and obtained one of the moſt deciſive victories recorded in hiſtory. Admiral Bonivet, mareſchal de Chabanis, Richard de la Pole, a pretender to the crown of England, ſome other generals, with about fourteen thouſand of the French

French army, fell in this fatal action. The king of France, the king of Navarre, ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, and about twelve thouſand men, were made priſoners. All the artillery, arms, ammunition, military cheſt, proviſions, and baggage of the vanquiſhed army, fell into the hands of the victors. In a word, the king of France wrote to his mother the day after; "Madam all is loſt, except my honour." And this was no great exaggeration. The imperial generals were aſtoniſhed at the greatneſs of their victory, which far exceeded their moſt ſanguine expectations [291]. A. D. 1525.

It is eaſier to imagine than deſcribe the conſternation into which the news of this dreadful diſaſter threw the court and kingdom of France. That kingdom was really in a moſt deplorable ſituation. Her king a priſoner; her braveſt generals and nobles, with the flower of her martial youth, either killed or taken; ſurrounded with powerful triumphant enemies; without allies; without money, without troops, and almoſt without hope [292]. The conſternation of the princes and ſtates of Italy was almoſt equal to that of the French. They ſaw the balance of power overturned, and themſelves expoſed to the demands of a victorious army, which could command what it demanded [293]. Conſternation of the French.

291 Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 122—129. Guicciardini, lib. xv. Hall, f. 136.

292 This great calamity was as unexpected as it was great; which ſhould teach the moſt powerful princes to be cautious of engaging in unneceſſary wars. The events of war are always uncertain.

293 Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 29, &c.

A. D. 1525.

Compoſure of the emperor.

The emperor was at Madrid, expecting every day to hear of the defeat of his army, and the loſs of his dominions in Italy, when he received (March 10th) the news of this great victory. Charles on this occaſion, diſcovered an amazing preſence of mind and command of paſſion. Though he muſt have felt the moſt lively tranſports of joy, on an event ſo advantageous and unexpected, nothing of that kind appeared in his words or actions. He peruſed the diſpatches with the moſt perfect compoſure, lamented the hard fate of his fallen rival, and moralized on the uncertainty of human power and greatneſs. But it ſoon became evident that all this was deep diſſimulation, and that he felt none of that compaſſion which he expreſſed [294].

Ambaſſadors ſent to Spain.

Henry received the news of the battle of Pavia March 9th, by an expreſs from the princeſs Margaret, governeſs of the Low Countries. As he was not ſo accompliſhed a diſſembler as Charles, he did not receive them with the ſame compoſure. Public rejoicings were ordered in London and other cities; the king rode in great ſtate to Saint Paul's, where the cardinal ſaid maſs, aſſiſted by eleven biſhops; after which Te Deum was ſung [295]. Henry's ambition, which had received a check by the ill-ſucceſs of his two late invaſions of France, again revived, and inclined him to take advantage of the great calamity which had befallen the unfor-

294 Sandov. Hiſt. vol. i. p. 651. Ulloa, Vita del Carlo V. p. 110.
295 Hall, f. 136.

tunate

tunate Francis. This is evident from the inſtruc- A. D. 1525.
tions given to doctor Tunſtal, biſhop of London, and ſir Richard Wingfield, who were diſpatched in great haſte into Spain. Theſe ambaſſadors were inſtructed to urge the full execution of the treaty of Bruges, between the emperor, the king, and the duke of Bourbon. By one article of that treaty, the two monarchs were to invade France with two powerful armies, the one on the ſouth, and the other on the north; that they ſhould meet at Paris, where Henry ſhould be crowned king of France, and the partition of the kingdom ſettled. By another article it was ſtipulated, that if any prince were taken priſoner in the courſe of the war, he ſhould be delivered to that one of the confederates whoſe dominions he had uſurped. The ambaſſadors were inſtructed to require that Francis ſhould be delivered to their maſter; as he had uſurped from him, not only Guienne and Normandy, but even the crown of France. To induce Charles and his council to comply with this requiſition, they were empowered to engage, that the princeſs Mary, their maſter's only child, and heireſs of his dominions, ſhould be ſent into Spain, at the ſame time that Francis was ſent into England. This, it was hoped, would prevail; as the emperor's ambaſſadors were then at the court of England, earneſtly ſoliciting the delivery of the princeſs to their maſter, to whom ſhe was betrothed. The ambaſſadors were alſo furniſhed with anſwers to all the objections it was ſuppoſed Charles and his council would

A. D. 1525. would make to their demands[296]. They ſet out before the end of March, and Henry, who was naturally ſanguine in his hopes, certainly expected that his demands, with ſome modifications, would be granted.

Illegal commiſſions.

To procure money for the intended invaſion of France, Henry and his favourite had recourſe to a very expeditious, but moſt unconſtitutional method. Toward the end of March commiſſioners were appointed in every county, to levy the ſixth part of the goods of the laity, and the fourth of thoſe of the clergy, to be paid immediately in money or plate. Theſe commiſſioners in ſome places were ſlighted, in others inſulted, and in none obeyed; the whole kingdom ſeemed ripe for rebellion. Alarmed at this univerſal reſiſtance, the king iſſued a proclamation, recalling theſe commiſſioners, and declaring that he would have nothing from his loving ſubjects but what they choſe to give him as a free gift. Commiſſioners were then appointed to collect a benevolence, as it was very improperly called. But this, though more ſpecious, was no leſs illegal than the former method, and met with as violent an oppoſition. The cardinal acted as chief commiſſioner in London, and employed every art to perſuade the wealthy citizens to contribute, but to no purpoſe; the refuſal was obſtinate and univerſal. In Suffolk, the people flew to arms, and with great difficulty were prevailed upon, by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, to diſperſe. At length, the

[296] Hall, f. 137. Carte, vol. iii. p. 137.

king

king and his council, perceiving that theſe commiſſions produced much diſcontent and danger, but little or no money, recalled them; and the weight of the public indignation fell upon the cardinal, who, it was well known, had the chief direction of all affairs, and had boldly undertaken to furniſh the king with money on all occaſions [297]. A. D. 1525.

The cold reception of the Engliſh ambaſſadors in Spain.

The Engliſh ambaſſadors met with a very cold reception at the court of Spain, where the victory of Pavia, and the captivity of the king of France, had produced a mighty change. Charles was fully determined to appropriate all the advantages of that victory to himſelf, and to impart none of them to his ally the king of England, of whoſe ſecret negotiations with the regent of France he had received information from his reſident in London. All the propoſitions of his ambaſſadors therefore were rejected, and they received nothing but reproaches for his violation of the treaty of Bruges, by neglecting to invade Picardy the preceding year, and for his private negotiations with France. The emperor was now ſo far from deſiring the princeſs Mary to be ſent into Spain, that the ambaſſadors diſcovered that he was reſolved to break his engagements with that princeſs, though they had been confirmed by a moſt ſolemn oath, and was actually negotiating a marriage with the infanta Iſabella of Portugal.

Treaties with France.

This intelligence, which was received toward the end of May, occaſioned a total revolution in the politics of the court of England. Henry, whoſe

[297] Hall, f. 137—142.

A. D. 1525. paſſions were ſtrong, was greatly irritated at the emperor on many accounts, and the cardinal contributed all in his power to inflame his reſentment. He now abandoned all thoughts of mounting the throne of France, or diſmembering that monarchy; and reſolved to exert all his power to preſerve it entire, and to procure the deliverance of its captive monarch. Though he diſmiſſed the two French agents who reſided privately in London, as ſoon as he received the news of the battle of Pavia, the regent, very prudently, renewed her application, and gave a commiſſion, dated at Lyons June 9, to John Brenon, preſident of the parliament of Normandy, and John Joachim, maſter of the houſehold, to negotiate a peace and alliance with the king of England [298]. Theſe ambaſſadors, the ſame who had been formerly diſmiſſed, were now very well received, and concluded no fewer than ſix treaties with Henry and his miniſters. 1. A treaty of perpetual peace and amity; in which the contracting parties guaranteed each other's dominions againſt all ſtates and princes in the world, ſpiritual or temporal [299]. This was deſigned to prevent Francis from ceding any of his provinces to procure his liberty [300]. 2. A treaty, binding Francis and his heirs to pay to Henry and his heirs two millions of crowns, at certain ſtipulated terms, and 100,000 crowns a-year for life, after the above ſum were paid [301]. Nine of the greateſt noblemen, and nine

[298] Rym. tom. xiv. p. 37. [299] Ibid. p. 48.

[300] In this treaty Henry engaged to uſe all his influence with the emperor to procure the deliverance of Francis on reaſonable terms.

[301] Rym. tom. xiv. p. 58.

of

of the richeſt cities in France gave their bonds, as an additional ſecurity for theſe payments. 3. By the third treaty, the king of France engaged to pay to Mary, queen-dowager of France, Henry's ſiſter, all the arrears of her dowry [302]. 4. A treaty for preventing depredations at ſea, and for ſettling all diſputes on that ſubject [303]. 5. A treaty explaining on what terms the king of Scots was comprehended in the peace [304]. 6. A treaty for preventing the duke of Albany's return into Scotland during the minority of king James V. All theſe treaties were ſubſcribed by the French plenipotentiaries at the Moore (a houſe of the king in Hertfordſhire) Auguſt 30th [305]. A. D. 1525.

In compliance with one of the articles in the firſt of the above treaties, Henry wrote a letter to the emperor with his own hand, entreating him to grant the king of France his liberty on moderate and equitable terms. But little or no regard was paid to this application; and Charles, who had been accuſtomed to write to Henry with his own hand, and to ſubſcribe himſelf his loving ſon and couſin, returned an anſwer by his ſecretary, and ſubſcribed Charles [306]. In a word, all friendly intercourſe between the courts of England and Spain was at an end, and their ambaſſadors were mutually recalled. Henry writes to the emperor.

The cardinal had contributed greatly to bring about this peace and alliance between France and England, and he was well rewarded for his labour. The cardinal rewarded.

[302] Rym. tom. xiv. p. 69. [303] Ibid. p. 70. [304] Ibid. p. 74.
[305] Ibid. p. 75. [306] Guicciardini. lib. xvi.

A. D. 1525. The regent of France granted him a bond November 18th, for 100,000 crowns, for his good offices in that affair, and for 29,000 crowns, as the arrears of his penſion, which had not been paid during the late war[307].

The cardinal in danger.

That mighty favourite, however, was in ſome danger, at this time, of incurring the diſpleaſure of his too indulgent maſter, and falling from that towering height of greatneſs to which he had attained. The clamours againſt him for the late illegal commiſſions, and for various arbitrary and oppreſſive acts in the exerciſe of his legantine office, were ſo loud, that they reached the royal ear, and put the king into a violent paſſion. But the cardinal knew his temper, and took the moſt effectual way to appeaſe his anger. He made him a preſent of the magnificent palace he had built at Hampton-court, and wrote him a letter, containing the beſt apologies he could make for the ſeveral things he knew had diſpleaſed the king, and expreſſing the deepeſt anguiſh and diſtreſs of mind for having offended his grace. In anſwer to this, the king wrote him a long letter with his own hand, in which he ſuſtained his apologies in ſome things, recommended greater caution in others, and concluded with theſe affectionate expreſſions: "I "enſure you, (and I pray you think it ſo,) that "there remaineth at this hour no ſpark of diſplea-"ſure towards you in my heart. And thus fare "you well, and be no more perplext. Written

[307] Rym. tom. xiv. p. 100.

"with

" with the hand of your loving ſovereign and A. D. 1525.
" friend, HENRY R. [308]"

The unfortunate Francis had now remained many months in priſon; firſt in the ſtrong caſtle of Pizzigthone, near Cremona, and afterwards in the caſtle of Madrid. Though he panted for liberty with the greateſt ardour, the conditions on which it was offered were ſuch as he could not accept without diſgrace and ruin. He had offered to give up all claims to Naples, Milan, Genoa, and all other territories in Italy; to relinquiſh the ſuperiority over Flanders and Artois; to reſtore the duke of Bourbon and his followers to all their eſtates and honours; to pay three millions of crowns for his ranſom; and, being now a widower, he propoſed to marry Eleanora, queen-dowager of Portugal, the emperor's ſiſter. Theſe were tempting offers, but they did not ſatisfy the avarice and ambition of the conqueror, who inſiſted on the ſurrender of Burgundy, which Francis firmly determined not to grant; becauſe it would have given his too powerful adverſary ſuch a footing in his kingdom, as would have rendered all he retained precarious. Almoſt deſpairing of his deliverance, and irritated beyond meaſure at the ſeverity with which he was confined; the neglect with which he was treated by the emperor, who had not deigned to pay him the compliment of a viſit; the agitation of his ſpirits impaired his health, and threw him into a fever which threatened his death. The emperor was alarmed at this intel- Diſtreſs of the king of France.

[308] Herbert, p. 67.

A. D. 1525. ligence, haſtened to Madrid, viſited his royal priſoner ſeveral times, ſpoke to him in the moſt ſoothing and affectionate manner, and gave him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of a ſpeedy deliverance on reaſonable terms. This kind treatment revived the ſpirits and reſtored the health of the languiſhing monarch. But, to his unſpeakable mortification, when he had recovered his health, he found that the emperor was gone to Toledo, that his confinement was as ſtrict as ever, and all the pleaſing proſpects of a ſpeedy deliverance vaniſhed [309].

Perplexity of the emperor.

While the vanquiſhed prince was ſuffering thus ſeverely, the victor was not without his cares, perplexities, and fears. In Germany his affairs were in great confuſion. The Turks, after they had taken Rhodes, had made ſome conqueſts in Hungary, and threatened his hereditary dominions. The reformation had made great progreſs, and the followers of Luther were become formidable by their numbers, power, and union. The pope, and all the other princes and ſtates of Italy, he knew, dreaded his power, and waited for an opportunity to combine againſt him. The king of England, his moſt powerful ally, had deſerted him, and embraced the cauſe of the captive king with his uſual warmth. Barbaroſſa, who from a pirate had become a powerful prince, obſtructed the trade, and inſulted the coaſts of Spain. The regent of France, by her prudence and activity, ſe-

[309] Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 166, &c. Bellay, p. 95. P. Mart. ep. ult. Sandov. p. 665.

conded

conded by the ſpirit and loyalty of the nobles and people, had put that kingdom in a reſpectable poſture of defence. His own coffers were almoſt empty, his troops few, ill paid, and widely diſperſed. But what filled him with the greateſt anxiety, was his fear of loſing the perſon of his royal priſoner, on the poſſeſſion of which ſo much depended. He might do this by his death, of which he had lately been in danger, or by his eſcape, for effectuating which he knew a plot had been formed; and though that plot had been diſcovered, another might be more ſucceſsful [310]. His fears on this head were increaſed by a late event. Henry D'Albert, king of Navarre, who was alſo taken priſoner at the battle of Pavia, and had been guarded with the moſt anxious care, had made his eſcape, by changing clothes with a ſervant [311]. Beſides all this, he knew that Francis executed a formal reſignation of his crown to the dauphin, and had ſent it into France with his ſiſter, the ducheſs of Alençon, who had viſited him in his ſickneſs [312]. If that reſignation ſhould be accepted, he would then have a prince, without territories to reſign, or money to pay his ranſom. All theſe conſiderations determined Charles to conclude an agreement with his priſoner without delay; but in doing this, he ſtill reſolved (contrary to the advice of his wiſeſt counſellors) to grant him his liberty on the hardeſt conditions he could extort. A.D. 1525.

[310] Herbert, p. 69. [311] Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 130.
[312] Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 195.

A. D. 1526. The impatience of Francis to obtain his liberty ſhortened the negotiation; and the famous treaty called *The Concord of Madrid*, was ſigned and confirmed by the oaths of both parties with great ſolemnity January 14th, A. D. 1526. This treaty is very voluminous; and conſiſts of many articles; but it will be ſufficient to mention a few of the moſt important, which occaſioned thoſe controverſies in which the king of England was concerned[313]. 1. That there ſhall be a perpetual peace and amity between the emperor and the king of France, their ſubjects and dominions. 2. That the king of France, within ſix weeks after he is ſet at liberty, ſhall give up to the emperor the duchy of Burgundy, with all its dependencies. 3. For the greater ſecurity of the performance of the above article, the king, at the moment he is ſet at liberty, ſhall deliver to the emperor his two eldeſt ſons, the dauphin and the duke of Orleans, as hoſtages; and if he do not, or cannot perform it within four months, he ſhall return and deliver himſelf up a priſoner of war, and the hoſtages ſhall be ſet at liberty. 4. To extirpate all roots of future quarrels, Francis relinquiſhes all right of ſuperiority over Flanders and Artois, and all claims to Naples, Milan, Genoa, and other territories in Italy. 5. Francis engages to marry Eleanora, queen-dowager of Portugal, the emperor's eldeſt ſiſter, and all the terms of the contract are ſettled. A marriage is alſo ſtipulated between the dauphin and the princeſs Maria,

[313] Rym. tom. xiv. p. 308—326.

daughter

daughter of queen Eleanora. 6. Francis engages A. D. 1526.
to uſe all his influence with Henry de'Albert, king of Navarre, to relinquiſh all his rights to that kingdom; and with Charles duke of Guilders, to conſtitute the emperor heir to his dominions; and if he could not perſuade theſe princes, he was to give them no aſſiſtance. A cruel article, which obliged Francis to abandon his moſt meritorious allies to the inſatiable rapacity of their too powerful neighbour. The two next articles were equally cruel. By the one, Francis engaged to lend the emperor his whole navy, five hundred men at arms, and ſix thouſand foot ſoldiers, when he went into Italy, againſt thoſe princes who they both knew were forming a confederacy againſt the emperor in favour of Francis. By the other, Francis engaged to pay to the king of England all thoſe ſums of money which the emperor had promiſed to pay him, to tempt him to embrace his party againſt France. It is thus expreſſed in the treaty, which was adding inſult to cruelty. By another article, the moſt effectual ſecurities are given for the reſtoration of all their eſtates and honours, with all the intermediate profits, to Bourbon and his followers, who, for certain reaſons, had been abſent from France for ſome time paſt. A very modeſt way of expreſſing their rebellion againſt their natural ſovereign and their native country! Several other articles of this famous treaty are ſo ſevere and extortionary, that no reader of humanity can peruſe them without execrating the gaſping unprincely ſpirit of Charles who could demand them, and pitying

A. D. 1526. pitying the weakneſs and diſtreſs of Francis who could grant them [314]. Nothing but his extreme impatience of confinement, and a ſecret, though not very honourable, reſolution not to perform ſome of its moſt oppreſſive articles, could have prevailed upon him to give his conſent to ſuch diſhonourable and deſtructive terms.

King of France ſet at liberty.

After the concluſion of this treaty, Charles, though he ſtill guarded his priſoner with the moſt anxious care, loaded him with careſſes, carried him ſeveral times to viſit Eleanora, his future queen, gave him always the right hand, called him his deareſt brother and moſt beloved friend, vainly hoping to diſarm his reſentment and gain his friendſhip by a few fine words. Francis ſaw his deſign, concealed his indignation, and returned all his careſſes and compliments with intereſt. But no two perſons ever hated one another more heartily than the two dear brothers [315]. All the regulations for the exchange of Francis for his two ſons being ſettled, with ſuch precautions as diſcovered the greateſt diffidence on both ſides, that exchange took place March 16th, in a ſhip moored in the middle of the river Bedaſſao, which divides France from Spain, and was executed with ſuch rapidity, that the king had not an opportunity of embracing his children, who were going into captivity for his deliverance [316].

Writes to the king of England.

As ſoon as Francis landed in his own territories, he mounted a Turkiſh horſe, and rode full ſpeed, firſt to St. John de Luz, and then to Bayonne.

[314] Rym. tom. xiv. p. 108—126. [315] Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 223. [316] Herbert, p. 75. Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 246.

There he wrote to the king of England, A. D. 1526. March 17th, the news of his deliverance, which he aſcribed to his generous and friendly interpoſition; and at the ſame time ſent him his bond for the two millions of crowns ſtipulated by the treaty at the Moore, Auguſt 18th, A. D. 1525 [317].

The king of England and the princes and ſtates of Italy were anxious to know whether Francis intended to perform all the articles of the treaty of Madrid, or not. Becauſe, if he really intended to ſurrender Burgundy, and to perform all the other articles of that treaty, he could not enter into any confederacy with them againſt the emperor, and no confederacy that they could form without him, would be able to reſiſt the enormous power of that monarch. To diſcover the French king's intentions, doctor Taylor, the Engliſh ambaſſador at the court of France, was commanded to haſten to the place where that prince ſhould firſt enter his own dominions; and ſir Thomas Cheyney was ſent from England to join him there. An abſtract of the inſtructions to theſe two ambaſſadors, drawn by cardinal Wolſey, is ſtill preſerved, and exhibits a very curious ſpecimen of the cunning and ſubtilty of that famous miniſter. The ambaſſadors are directed to paint in the ſtrongeſt colours the high eſteem and extraordinary love which their maſter had contracted for Francis at their interview at Ardres, which no intervening events had been able to diminiſh—to Ambaſſadors ſent to Francis.

[317] Rym. tom. xiv. p. 129.

deſcribe

A. D. 1526. deſcribe in the moſt affecting manner, the ſorrow he had felt for his captivity, and the joy he had expreſſed at the news of his deliverance—that he had ſent them to offer him all the aid and comfort in his power. They were to do this, not in a formal oration, but in a natural way, as flowing from the heart. They are inſtructed to be very attentive to every word that dropped from Francis and his miniſters about the treaty of Madrid, in order to diſcover their real ſentiments and intentions. If they found them heſitating and undetermined, they were to expreſs the greateſt ſurpriſe and aſtoniſhment at the hardneſs of the conditions of that treaty—to repreſent that, when the treaty was executed, the emperor's power would become irreſiſtible. "That they ſhould extend and ſpeak "at large, what great honour, profit and high "renown the emperor ſhould attain thereby, if "in all parts it were obſerved. That this would "be the ready way to bring him to the monarchy "of all Chriſtendom." If they found that Francis and his miniſters were reſolved not to execute the treaty in its full extent, but to procure a mitigation of ſome of the moſt oppreſſive articles, they ſhould then propoſe a treaty of alliance and confederacy for that purpoſe [318].

Aſſembly of the notables.

There was no need for all this artifice to diſcover the intentions of the king of France, or to perſuade him to engage in a confederacy againſt the emperor, to obtain a mitigation of the treaty of Madrid. Before he ſigned that treaty, he pro-

[318] Strype's Memorials, vol. i. ch. 5.

teſted,

teſted, before two notaries, and a few confidential friends ſworn to ſecrecy, that he was under reſtraint, and that he did not deſign to perform any of the articles of the treaty he was about to ſign, but ſuch as were reaſonable [319]. A wretched ſubterfuge, to which he was driven by his unhappy circumſtances. When he arrived at Bayonne, and the two Spaniſh ambaſſadors who attended him preſſed him to ratify the treaty of Madrid, agreeable to an article of that treaty, he refuſed to do it, pretending he could contract no new engagements without the advice of his council, and the conſent of his ſubjects. He told them, that he would immediately call an aſſembly of the notables to meet at Cognac, and deſired them to attend there to receive his final anſwer. That aſſembly met at that place in June, and all members declared with one voice, that the king had no right to diſmember the monarchy, by making a ceſſion of Burgundy, to which they never would give their conſent; and that without their conſent, it could not be done. The Spaniſh ambaſſadors were preſent in the aſſembly when that declaration was made, and inſiſted, that ſince the king would not, or could not, ſurrender Burgundy, he ſhould, as he had ſolemnly ſworn to do, return to his priſon in Spain. No direct anſwer was returned to this requiſition, but the treaty of confederacy between the pope, the king of France, the Venetians, and the duke of Milan, (which had been concluded with great ſecrecy a few days before,) was publiſhed in their hearing. This amount- A. D. 1526.

[319] Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 221, 222.

ing

A. D. 1526. ing to a declaration of war, they demanded paſſports, and returned to Spain [320].

Italian league.

In the above league of confederacy, the allies engaged to raiſe and pay an army of thirty thouſand foot, two hundred and fifty men at arms, and three thouſand light horſe, with a certain number of ſhips of war and galleys. The king of France was to have the country of Aſt, and lordſhip of Genoa, with an annuity of 50,000 crowns from Francis Sforza duke of Milan. When the kingdom of Naples was conquered, the pope was to diſpoſe of that crown, and the new king was to pay the king of France an annuity of 75,000 crowns. The king of England was declared protector of this moſt holy league, and to have a principality in Naples worth 36,000 ducats a-year, and cardinal Wolſey a lordſhip worth 10,000, for his good offices [321]. Though this league was formed directly againſt the emperor, by one of the articles it was agreed, that he ſhould be admitted into it as a party, on condition that he approved of the arrangements in Italy, deſiſted from his demand of Burgundy, and conſented to reſtore the children of France for a reaſonable ranſom. If he refuſed to comply with theſe conditions, (which they perfectly well knew he would refuſe,) the other confederates bound themſelves to aſſiſt the king of France in compelling him by force of arms to reſtore his children. The king of England was invited to become a party in this league, if he pleaſed; but

[320] Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 232—235.
[321] Guicciardini, lib. 16. Belcar. lib. 18.

this

this he very wiſely declined, contenting himſelf with the honour of being its protector, which coſt him nothing [322]. This league was notified to the emperor by the ambaſſadors of France and the other confederates. Charles was greatly irritated, and expreſſed himſelf with much aſperity againſt the pope and the king of France. He upbraided the pope with his ingratitude to him who had raiſed him to the papal chair, though he was a baſtard. He deſired the French ambaſſador, the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, to tell his maſter, that he behaved baſely and diſhonourably in violating the treaty of Madrid, and that if he denied it, he would maintain it againſt him by his perſon [323]. A. D. 1526.

Francis, conſcious that his conduct needed an apology, ſent a vindication of it to all the courts in Europe. This vindication was drawn by Duprat chancellor of France, with great art and eloquence, and reſted chiefly on the following grounds: That the emperor had firſt violated the treaty of Noyon, by retaining the kingdom of Navarre, to which he had no right, and which he had engaged to relinquiſh—That he had enticed Bourbon and his followers to rebel, and ſupported them in their rebellion—That he treated him, when he was his priſoner, in a moſt cruel and ignominious manner—That obligations and oaths, extorted by violence from a priſoner, were not binding—That he had always declared, that if any unreaſonable conditions were extorted from him, he would break them when he had obtained his liberty—That it was not in Francis publiſhes a vindication.

[322] Herbert. p. 76, 77. [323] Id. ib.

his

A.D. 1526. his power to ſurrender Burgundy; and that he had often told the emperor and his miniſters that it was not in his power—That he was willing to pay a great ſum of money in lieu of Burgundy, and for the recovery of his dear children [324]. To this apology the emperor publiſhed a ſevere and paſſionate anſwer, and both princes prepared for deciding this quarrel by ſharper weapons than the pen.

Treaty. Though Henry had eſpouſed the cauſe of the king of France, he was averſe to engage in a war, and wiſhed rather to recover his own debt from the emperor, and to aſſiſt Francis in recovering his ſons, by a negotiation. The two monarchs, with this view, concluded a treaty of mutual obligation Auguſt 8th, in which the king of France engaged not to make any treaty with the emperor for the recovery of his ſons, without comprehending the king of England, and ſecuring the payment of his debt; and the king of England engaged not to make any treaty with the emperor for obtaining the payment of his debt, without comprehending the king of France, and procuring the deliverance of his ſons for a ranſom of one million of crowns of gold [325]. Both princes, in conſequence of this treaty, inſtructed their ambaſſadors at the court of Spain, to negotiate with Charles and his miniſters, for procuring the deliverance of the children of France, and the payment of the debt due to England [326]. In theſe negotiations the laſt months of this year were ſpent.

[324] Herbert, p. 76, 77. [325] Rym. p. 189.
[326] Strype, vol. i. p. 67.

It

It is foreign to the ſubject of this preſent work, and would be tedious to the reader, to trace all the motions of the imperial and confederate armies in Italy. It is ſufficient to ſay, that the confederate army, though numerous and well-appointed, being commanded by three generals who had equal authority and different views, performed nothing memorable. The duke of Bourbon took the command of the imperial army July 24th, and puſhed the ſiege of the caſtle of Milan (in which that army was then engaged) with ſo much ſpirit, that he compelled Sforza to ſurrender it by capitulation, which was the moſt important event in that campaign [327]. A. D. 1526. Military operations in Italy,

But though Bourbon had obtained poſſeſſion of the whole duchy of Milan, of which the emperor had promiſed him the inveſtiture, he was in great diſtreſs and danger. His army had received little or no pay for ſeveral months; he had no money to pay them; and their diſtreſs and diſcontent were become ſo great, that he dreaded every moment ſome deſtructive mutiny. A great reinforcement of ſixteen thouſand Germans, half naked and half ſtarved, arrived in his camp, which added to his diſtreſs and danger, by doubling the demands for money, which he could not anſwer. The once rich and populous city of Milan, having been long the reſidence of an army without pay, was become a ſcene of miſery and deſolation, from which no more proviſions or money could be procured. In this extremity Bourbon acted with great prudence and A. D. 1527. continued.

[327] Guicciardini, l. 17.

A. D. 1527. ſpirit. He explained to his ſoldiers the cauſes of their ſufferings, in which he ſhared as deeply as any of them. He aſſured them, that he would lead them into the enemy's country, and would enrich them with the ſpoils of ſome of the moſt opulent cities of Italy. Animated by theſe hopes, they declared their reſolution to follow him wherever he pleaſed to lead them. He marched from Milan January 20th, A. D. 1527, at the head of twenty-five thouſand brave, or rather deſperate men, but without money, without artillery, and without ammunition. They had no other means of procuring proviſions but by plundering the countries through which they marched. In their deſtructive courſe they approached Placentia, Bologna, and Florence; but found all theſe places ſo well prepared for their defence, that they dared not attempt them without artillery. Their patience was now quite exhauſted; they broke out into a furious mutiny, which Bourbon appeaſed with much difficulty, by convincing them that their preſervation depended upon their union and perſeverance, and by promiſing them, with greater confidence than ever, a ſpeedy period to all their ſufferings, and the accompliſhment of all his promiſes. Having obtained a ſmall ſum of money, a quantity of ammunition, and three field-pieces, from the duke of Ferrara, Bourbon marched his army directly to Rome, which inſpired his troops with the greateſt joy, as they there expected the leaſt reſiſtance and the greateſt booty. Beſides, the Germans in his army were in general Lutherans, who hated the pope as much as they loved his treaſures.

treaſures. When Bourbon with his army arrived A.D. 1527.
at Rome May 5th, he rode among his troops, crying out, "Behold yonder churches and palaces, "the receptacles of the wealth of the chriſtian "world; repoſe yourſelves to-night, and to-mor- "row all that wealth ſhall be your own." Early in the morning May 6th, the army approached the walls under the cover of a thick fog, and attempted to ſcale them in three places. But they were every were repulſed, and were in danger of deſiſting from the attempt. Bourbon, ſenſible that every thing depended on the ſucceſs of that aſſault, alighted from his horſe, ſeized a ladder, placed it againſt the wall, and began to mount, when he received a ſhot in the groin, and fell into the ditch. In his laſt moments, this brave, accompliſhed, and unfortunate prince deſired thoſe about him to cover his body and conceal his death. It could not be concealed, and the report of it inflamed the fury of his troops to madneſs. With a dreadful ſhout of Bourbon, blood, and ſlaughter, they mounted the walls, and ruſhed into the city like a torrent, ſpreading death and deſtruction wherever they appeared. In a moment this devoted city become a ſcene of inexpreſſible miſery and horror, and its wretched inhabitants ſuffered every ill that the rage, avarice, and luſt of ſoldiers could inflict. Their miſery did not terminate in a day, but continued ſeveral months; the churches, palaces, and private houſes were ſtriped of every thing that was valuable, and many crimes were committed too ſhocking to be recorded [328].

[328] Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 269—279. Guicciard. l. 13.

A. D. 1527. Imprisonment of the pope.

The pope and cardinals fled to the caſtle of St. Angelo, which ſaved them from the undiſtinguiſhing fury of the ſoldiers. But that fortreſs being unprovided for enduring a ſiege which was unexpected, his holineſs was ſoon reduced to the neceſſity of capitulating, to prevent his periſhing by famine. The terms of the capitulation were dictated by his enemies. He engaged to ſurrender all the places of ſtrength in his dominions, to pay 400,000 ducats to the beſieging army, and to remain a priſoner till all this was performed, and the emperor's pleaſure was known [329].

Hypocriſy of the emperor.

The news of the ſacking of Rome, and the impriſonment of the pope, excited horror and indignation in the minds of all good catholics in all parts of Europe. None expreſſed greater ſurpriſe and ſorrow on this occaſion than the emperor. He put himſelf and all his court into the deepeſt mourning, forbid the intended rejoicing for the birth of his ſon, and commanded prayers to be put up in all the churches of Spain for the deliverance of his holineſs. A piece of hypocriſy as ſhallow as it was impious [330].

Treaties.

The concern of the kings of France and England for the captivity of the pope was more ſincere. There had been three treaties concluded between them at London April 30th. 1. A treaty of ſtricter union and alliance, in which it was agreed that Francis, or his ſecond ſon the duke of Orleans, ſhould eſpouſe the princes Mary, and that the

[329] Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 269—279. Guicciard. l. 13.
[330] Sandov. vol. i. p. 22. Sleidan, p. 109.

two

two kings ſhould have a perſonal interview as ſoon as preliminaries could be ſettled. 2. A treaty of perpetual peace, the chief article of which was, that to remove all grounds of wars and quarrels, Henry renounced for himſelf and his ſucceſſors his title to the crown of France, and to all the territories poſſeſſed by Francis; and that Francis and his ſucceſſors ſhould pay to Henry and his ſucceſſors 50,000 crowns a-year in coin, and 15,000 crowns worth of the ſalt of Bruage a-year, for ever. 3. A treaty of offenſive war, in which the two kings agreed to ſend ambaſſadors to the emperor, with their ultimate propoſals, for the redemption of the children of France, and the payment of the debt due to England; and if the emperor rejected theſe propoſals, two heralds were to denounce war againſt him, each in the name of his own king. By this treaty too it was agreed that the war ſhould be chiefly puſhed in the Low Countries, and all things reſpecting the numbers of troops to be furniſhed by each king, and the diviſion of their conqueſts, were ſettled [331]. But the unfortunate turn of affairs in Italy required new councils, and it now became neceſſary to make their firſt and greateſt efforts in that country, to prevent their confederates from deſerting the common cauſe. With this view they made another treaty May 29th, in which they agreed to make Italy the ſeat of the war, and Francis engaged to ſend an army of thirty thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe to join the confederate army there; while Henry obliged himſelf to pay 32,222 A. D. 1527.

[331] Rym. tom. xiv. p. 202—227. Herbert, p. 80, 81.

A. D. 1527. crowns a-month for ſix months, in lieu of the forces he was to have furniſhed by treaty for the war in the Low Countries [332]. In conſequence of an article in one of the above treaties, ſir Francis Pointz was appointed ambaſſador to make the concerted propoſitions to the emperor, and ſet out for Spain by way of France May 10th, with Clarenceaux king at arms in his company [333].

The cardinal's embaſſy to France.

As the propoſed interview between the two kings would have occaſioned too long a delay and too much expence, it was thought better to ſend the cardinal with unlimited powers to ſettle all things with Francis, who agreed to meet him at Amiens. This pompous plenipotentiary paſſed through London in a kind of proceſſion July 3d, attended by many perſons of rank, with a retinue of twelve hundred horſe. He arrived at Calais on the 11th, and ſet out from thence on the 22d. He was met on the frontiers of France by the cardinal of Lorrain, with a ſplendid train of prelates, lords, and gentlemen, and received into every town with proceſſions, pageants, and all the honours that could have been paid to the greateſt monarch [334]. Still further to gratify the vanity of this haughty prieſt, Francis granted him a power to ſet all priſoners at liberty in every town through which he paſſed [335]. Proceeding by ſlow journies, he arrived at Abbeville July 25th, and there ſpent about a week.

The emperor's offers rejected.

While the cardinal remained at Abbeville he received the emperor's anſwer to certain propoſitions

[332] Herbert, p. 83. [333] Ibid. [334] Hall, f. 161, 162. [335] Rym. p. 202.

that

that had been preſented to him by Francis. The propoſitions were theſe four: 1. That Sforza duke of Milan ſhould be reſtored to his dominions. 2. That Francis would pay the emperor two millions of crowns in lieu of Burgundy, on which he ſhould receive his ſons and his queen Eleanora. 3. That Francis ſhould pay the debts which the emperor owed to the king of England. 4. It was propoſed, that the emperor ſhould make ſome addition to the dowry of queen Eleanora in conſideration of the great ſums he was to receive. The emperor's anſwer conſiſted of eight declarations, chiefly explanatory of the ſenſe in which he underſtood and accepted the propoſitions, with ſome ſlight alterations [336]. The emperor ſubjoined to theſe declarations very ſtrong expreſſions of his regard for cardinal Wolſey, "who (he ſaid) had al-"ways been, and ſtill was, one of his beſt friends." Though he knew him to be his moſt inveterate enemy. He expreſſed, in much ſtronger terms the great affection and love he bore to his deareſt uncle the king of England, for whoſe ſake alone he had made the above conceſſions, and at whoſe requeſt he was ready to make other conceſſions, that all the world might know that he eſteemed and loved him, and valued his friendſhip more than that of other princes [337]. The deſign of all this flattery of Henry and his favourite is obvious. As both Henry and Francis were reſolved on war, the emperor's propoſals were rejected. A. D. 1527.

[336] Rym, p. 200. [337] Ibid.

A. D. 1527. Treaties.

The king of France with his whole court arrived at Amiens Auguſt 3d, and the cardinal made his public entry into that city the day after, with prodigious pomp [335]. There he continued fourteen days, tranſacting buſineſs with Francis and his miniſters, and three treaties were concluded Auguſt 18th. By the firſt of theſe treaties it was agreed, that the duke of Orleans ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Mary—that the interview between the two kings ſhould be put off to a more convenient ſeaſon—and the ſums of money to be paid monthly by the king of England, for defraying the expences of the war in Italy, and for the deliverance of the pope, were ſettled. This treaty was intended to confirm and explain the treaties made in the months of April and May. By the ſecond treaty it was agreed, that whatever privileges the Engliſh merchants ſhould loſe in the dominions of the emperor in conſequence of the approaching war, they ſhould enjoy ſimilar privileges in the dominions of the king of France during the continuance of that war. By the third treaty, the two contracting princes endeavoured to guard againſt the inconveniences they and their ſubjects might ſuffer by the captivity of the pope, when he was entirely in the power of the emperor. In order to this, it was agreed, that if the emperor, or the pope during his captivity, called a general council, neither of the kings ſhould obey the call without the conſent of the other. It was further ſtipulated, that if the pope, while he was a priſoner, iſſued any bulls pre-

[335] Hall, f. 162.

judicial

judicial to them or their ſubjects, they ſhould diſ- A. D. 1527.
regard them; and that in the mean time the church of England ſhould be governed by the cardinal legate, and the Gallican church by the prelates of that kingdom [339]. Theſe treaties were ratified with great ſolemnity, and delivered by the king to the cardinal at high maſs, in the great church of Amiens [340]. The cardinal having finiſhed his buſineſs, and ſpent ſome time in a progreſs with the court of France, returned to England and waited on the king, by whom he was moſt graciouſly received, at Richmond, September 29th.

In the mean time the Engliſh plenipotentiary, ſir Francis Pointz, had reached the court of Spain, and having obtained an audience of the emperor, made the following demand in the name of the king his maſter:—That the emperor ſhould deliver to the king one half of the ſpoils and priſoners taken at the battle of Pavia, as he had contributed to the pay of the army which had taken thoſe ſpoils and priſoners:—that he ſhould give up the duke of Orleans, one of the ſons of France, to the king:—that he ſhould immediately repay all the ſums of money the king had lent him, with the addition of 400,000 crowns which he had forfeited by violating his contract of marriage with the princeſs Mary;—and that he ſhould reſtore the pope to his liberty, and indemnify him and his ſubjects for all the loſſes they had ſuſtained [341]. The emperor acted with his uſual caution and prudence on this occaſion.

[339] Rym. p. 203—218. [340] Hall, f. 162.
[341] Hall, f. 163. Herbert, p. 86.

He

A. D. 1527. He ſaw plainly that theſe demands were not made from any expectation that they would be granted, but only to procure a pretence for declaring war againſt him if they were rejected. He replied therefore with great calmneſs, That theſe were matters of great importance; that he would deliberate upon them with his council, and then return an anſwer. A few days after, the Engliſh ambaſſador, with the biſhop of Worceſter and doctor Lee, the Engliſh reſidents, had a ſecond audience, when the emperor acquainted them, that he had reſolved to communicate his ſentiments on their demands to his dear uncle, by his ambaſſador at the court of England, and begged them, to wait with patience till he got a return from thence, and then they ſhould receive his final anſwer [342]. By this means he prevented an immediate declaration of war, for which he was not prepared, and gained time to make freſh efforts to detach the king of England from an intimate union with France. But the invincible animoſity of the cardinal againſt him prevented the ſucceſs of theſe efforts.

The pope at liberty.

The emperor, perceiving that the captivity of the pope gave great offence to all good catholics, and furniſhed the kings of France and England with a plauſible pretence for declaring war againſt him, determined to ſet him at liberty. The rapid progreſs alſo of the confederate army in Italy, which was now marching towards Rome, made him haſten to execute that reſolution. As he had pretended great ſorrow for the captivity of his holineſs,

[342] Hall, f. 163.

ſo

ſo he now pretended (with equal diſſimulation) A. D. 1527.
great diſintereſtedneſs in giving him his liberty. He demanded he ſaid, no ranſom for his perſon; but as the army that had reduced him to captivity was turbulent and ungovernable, and had great arrears of pay due to them, it was neceſſary to procure money to diſcharge theſe arrears, to prevent their breaking out into ſome dreadful mutiny. He ſent orders to Moncado, his miniſter at Rome, to alarm the fears of his holineſs, to make him impatient for his liberty, and to extort from him as much money and as advantageous conditions as poſſible. Moncado acted his part perfectly well, and concluded a treaty with his holineſs for his liberty on the following terms:—That he ſhould never take part againſt the emperor in Italy:—that he ſhould pay immediately 100,000 crowns for the uſe of the army; the ſame ſum a fortnight after, and 150,000 at the end of three months:—that he ſhould grant the emperor a cruſado in all his dominions, and the tenth of all eccleſiaſtical revenues in Spain;—and that he ſhould deliver certain cardinals as hoſtages, and certain ſtrong towns as a ſecurity, for the performance of theſe conditions [343]. The pope paid the firſt moiety of the money, delivered the hoſtages and towns, and was to have been let at liberty December 10th; but dreading that he would be detained on ſome pretence or other, he made his eſcape in diſguiſe the evening before, and took ſhelter in Orvieto. From thence he immediately wrote to the king of England and

[343] Guicciard. lib. xviii. p. 467.

to

A.D. 1527. to cardinal Wolſey, acknowledging that he owed his liberty to their powerful interpoſition, expreſſing the moſt lively gratitude, and imploring the continuance of their protection.

Divorce. Beſide Henry's ſtrong attachment to the church of Rome, of which he had been the champion, both by his ſword and pen, he had another motive which induced him to eſpouſe the cauſe of the impriſoned pope with warmth. He had formed a reſolution to procure a divorce, if poſſible, from his queen, Catherine of Spain, the emperor's aunt; and he well knew that nothing could contribute ſo much to the ſucceſs of that deſign as the favour of his holineſs. As this divorce engaged almoſt the whole attention of Henry and his miniſters for ſeveral years, and produced effects of the greateſt importance and altogether unexpected, it is neceſſary to trace the proceedings in it from year to year with the moſt anxious care and laborious inveſtigation.

The time and the motives. It is impoſſible to diſcover, with abſolute certainty, the preciſe time when Henry reſolved to procure a divorce from his queen, or the motives which determined him to form that reſolution. It is however highly probable, that he had formed it a conſiderable time before he made it public, and that the motives by which he was influenced were neither criminal nor diſhonourable. Great doubts concerning the legality of his marriage with his brother's widow were generally entertained as ſoon as it was propoſed. His father, Henry VII., who, prompted by his predominant paſſion, avarice, had formed the ſcheme and promoted the contract of that

that uncommon marriage, was afterwards convinced of its illegality, and endeavoured to prevent its accompliſhment. With this view he perſuaded his ſon to proteſt againſt the contract of his marriage on the very day he was fourteen years of age, and on his death-bed he charged him with great earneſtneſs never to celebrate that marriage [344]. Warham archbiſhop of Canterbury, a man greatly eſteemed for his learning and integrity, declared loudly againſt the celebration of the marriage (when it was debated in council) as inceſtuous, and contrary to the law of God, with which, he ſaid, the pope could not diſpenſe [345]. Though Henry's amorous diſpoſition, the charms of the princeſs, and the perſuaſions of his counſellors, made him diſregard the dying admonitions of his father, and the ſtrong declarations of the primate, yet they could no fail to make an impreſſion upon his mind, which could not be quite forgotten, and would be eaſily revived. While the queen retained her beauty, continued to bear children, and gave him hopes of a ſon or ſons to ſucceed him on the throne, his ſcruples, it is probable, gave him little trouble; but when her beauty faded, infirmities ſucceeded, and all hopes of iſſue vaniſhed, he became uneaſy; his doubts about the legality of his marriage revived; the dread of leaving a diſputable ſucceſſion increaſed; and he began to think of a divorce, as the only thing that could relieve him from all theſe embarraſſments. All A. D. 1527.

344 Moriſon's Apomaxis, p. 13.

345 Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. vol. i. p. 36. and Collection of Records, p. 10.

this

A. D. 1527. this happened in the year 1524: for it was in that year, as we learn from a letter of his own to Simon Grinius, that he began to abſtain from all conjugal intercourſe with the queen, from ſcruples which he then entertained about the legality of his marriage [345]. It was in that year, therefore, it is highly probable, that he began to entertain thoughts of a divorce, influenced by the following motives: his ſcruples about the legality of his marriage; his dread of leaving a diſputable ſucceſſion; and his deſires and hopes of having male iſſue by a lawful marriage. The advanced age and infirmities of the queen might give additional weight to theſe motives, and make the thoughts of a ſeparation from her leſs painful; but there is no evidence, or even probability, that he had then ſet his affections on any other lady.

Henry fully convinced of the illegality of his marriage.

Though Henry began ſo early to be diſquieted with doubts about the legality of his marriage, it ſeems to have been a conſiderable time before he was fully convinced that it was unlawful. Pope Julius II. had granted a diſpenſation for it, and he had a very high opinion of the papal power, to which he was unwilling to ſet any bounds. Having a taſte for theological ſtudies, he applied with great ardour to the ſtudy of this queſtion, in which he was ſo deeply intereſted. He even compoſed a book upon the ſubject, to prove, firſt, that the marriage of a brother's widow was prohibited by the law of God; and, ſecondly, that the pope had not power to diſpenſe with the laws of God; and

[346] Burnet, vol. i. p. 38.

conſe-

conſequently, that his marriage with his brother's widow was unlawful. He proved the firſt by two laws in Leviticus, and conſidered the death of his two ſons by the queen as the effect of the threatening in one of theſe laws, that ſuch marriages ſhould be childleſs [347]. The ſecond may ſeem to us a ſelf-evident propoſition that needed no proof; but ſuch was the infatuation and bigotry of thoſe times, that it was eſteemed by many a moſt peſtilent hereſy to ſet any bounds to the power of the pope in granting pardons and diſpenſations. Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, threatened to accuſe archbiſhop Warham of hereſy, for denying the pope's power to diſpenſe with the laws of God. But Thomas Aquinas having declared in the moſt explicit terms, ſupported by the ſtrongeſt reaſons, againſt the pope's power of diſpenſing with the divine laws, Henry embraced the opinion of his favourite author, and became fully convinced that his marriage was unlawful, and reſolutely determined to procure the diſſolution of it by a divorce [348]. In this opinion and determination he was confirmed by his favourite Wolſey, his confeſſor Longland biſhop of Lincoln, and other men of learning. A.D. 1527.

Though Henry had abſtained from all conjugal intercourſe with the queen for a conſiderable time, he ſtill continued to treat her with the greateſt attention and reſpect, and to keep his intention of ſuing for a divorce as ſecret as poſſible. But his reſolution being now taken, and his plan of pro- His intention diſcloſed.

[347] Leviticus, chap. xviii. 16. xx. 21.

[348] Strype, b. i. ch. x. p. 93, &c. Burnet, vol. i. p. 48.

ceeding

A. D. 1527. ceeding formed, he began to diſcloſe his deſign with great art and caution. The biſhop of Tarbe, and other French ambaſſadors, who were at London in March this year negotiating a marriage between the princeſs Mary and the duke of Orleans, ſtarted this objection, and the legitimacy of the princeſs might be called in queſtion, on account of the illegality of her father's marriage with his brother's widow, which might obſtruct her ſucceſſion to the crown [349]. Both the king and Wolſey affected to appear greatly alarmed at this objection; though it is highly probable, if not abſolutely certain, that it was made in conſequence of a concert between the courts of France and England, to furniſh Henry with a fair pretence for beginning his proceſs and demanding a divorce. The French, at that time, courted Henry's friendſhip with the greateſt ardour, as the only thing that could preſerve their monarchy from deſtruction, or deliver their king from captivity. In theſe circumſtances, it is not credible that the ambaſſadors would have ſtarted an objection that ſo nearly affected the honour, peace, and happineſs of the royal family, if they had not known that it was agreeable to the king, and a part of his plan.

Secretary ſent to Rome.

After ſome fruitleſs attempts had been made to perſuade the queen to conſent to a divorce, the king's ſecretary, doctor Knight, was ſent to Rome in July this year, to make application to the pope who was believed to be the only perſon who had power to grant what was ſo much deſired. He car-

[349] Hall, f. 55. Heylin, p. 3.

ried

ried with him letters from the king and the cardinal to the pope, repreſenting the many great ſervices they had done to his holineſs and the ſee of Rome; painting in the ſtrongeſt colours the king's diſtreſs, occaſioned by the ſcruples he entertained about the unlawfulneſs of his marriage, or rather by his full conviction that it was unlawful; and entreating his holineſs, in the moſt earneſt manner, to examine this important cauſe without delay, and grant that relief which juſtice required. The cardinal, in his letter, conjured the pope in ſo earneſt and pathetic a ſtrain to grant what the king deſired, that he ſeems to have foreſeen that the continuance of his own power and favour depended on the ſucceſs of that deſign [350]. They knew the court of Rome too well, to depend entirely on their letters, and the goodneſs of the cauſe, for ſucceſs. The ſecretary carried with him a large ſum of money, and bills on the bank of Venice for 10,000 crowns; and if the arts of corruption where not ſufficiently underſtood, they might be learned from the directions that were given by the cardinal for the diſpoſal of that money [351]. Doctor Knight was alſo directed to communicate all his letters and inſtructions to ſir Gregory Caſſali, the king's reſident at Rome, and to act in concert with him in all things. A. D. 1527.

When the ſecretary arrived at Rome, the pope was ſtill a priſoner; but having conſulted with Caſſali, they found means, by bribing ſome of his guards, to communicate their buſineſs and the Applies to the pope.

[350] Strype, vol. i. p. 83. Burnet's Records, b. ii. No. iv.

[351] Burnet's Records, b. ii. No. ix.

A. D. 1527. king's requiſitions to his holineſs, and received a moſt favourable anſwer. The pope profeſſed the moſt lively gratitude to the king for all his former favours, and declared, that he depended upon him alone for the recovery of his liberty; and that when he recovered it, he would deny him nothing; but that he could do nothing while he was a priſoner that would be eſteemed legal.

The negotiations. The Engliſh ambaſſadors concealed themſelves with the greateſt care, for fear of being diſcovered and inſulted by the Spaniſh ſoldiers, while the pope remained in priſon: but as ſoon as he made his eſcape, they flew to Orvieto, and renewed their ſolicitations. They found his holineſs ſtill in great terror of the imperial army; and he further informed them, that when he was in priſon, the general of the obſervants had charged him, in the emperor's name, to take no ſtep in their king's divorce till he had firſt communicated it to his miniſters at Rome. The ſecretary, doctor Knight, had brought with him copies of the four following inſtruments, which he and Caſſali moſt earneſtly entreated his holineſs to grant:

1. A commiſſion to two cardinals, for hearing and determining the cauſe in England, whereof cardinal Wolſey to be one.

2. A decretal, wherein the pope ſhould pronounce the marriage void, upon proof of carnal knowledge between prince Arthur and Katharine.

3. A diſpenſation for the king to marry another.

4. A pol-

4. A pollicitation that the pope would not revoke any of theſe acts [352]. A. D. 1527.

After ſeveral audiences, in which they endeavoured to convince the pope of the illegality of the marriage, and to perſuade him to grant theſe acts; and after they had gained the cardinal, with whom he conſulted, by a preſent of 4000 crowns; they obtained two of the acts, the commiſſion and diſpenſation, but conſiderably changed from the draughts they had preſented [353]. Secretary Knight being afflicted with the gout, ſent them to England by Gambara the papal prothonotary, and followed him by ſlow journies, leaving Caſſali to continue his ſolicitations.

As ſoon as Henry had determined to be divorced from his queen, he began to look around him for another lady to ſupply her place. Cardinal Wolſey, it is ſaid, recommended Margaret ducheſs-dowager of Alençon, the French king's ſiſter, with a view to render the union of theſe two monarchs more perfect and permanent. But a young lady appeared in the court of England this year, who made a ſudden and complete conqueſt of the king's heart, by the charms of her perſon and converſation. This was the fair unfortunate Anne Boleyn, daughter of ſir Thomas Boleyn by a ſiſter of the duke of Norfolk, and nearly related to many of the greateſt families in England. She was born A. D. 1507, and was carried into France A. D. 1515, when ſhe was only in her ninth year, by the king's ſiſter, the Anne Boleyn.

[352] Strype, vol. i. p. 89.

[353] Burnet, vol. i. b. ii. Records, No. iv. v.

A. D. 1527. princeſs Mary, when ſhe was married to Louis XII., on whom ſhe attended till that princeſs returned to England, after the death of her huſband. Though ſhe was ſtill very young, her perſon and manners were ſo pleaſing, that ſhe was retained by queen Claude, the firſt conſort to Francis I.; and after the death of that amiable and virtuous queen July 1524, ſhe lived with Margaret ducheſs of Alençon till ſhe was brought into England by her father, when he returned from his embaſſy in France A. D. 1527, and ſoon after admitted one of the maids of honour to the queen. It was in this ſituation the king had an opportunity of ſeeing her, and ſometimes engaging her in converſation; and he was ſo much charmed by her beauty, her virtue, her vivacity, her eaſy and ſprightly manners, that he reſolved to raiſe her to the throne, and became more impatient for obtaining a divorce [354].

A.D. 1528. Embaſſy to the Pope. When the commiſſion and diſpenſation above mentioned where brought into England by Gambara, they were found to be ſo defective, that it was thought dangerous to proceed upon them; and it was reſolved to ſend embaſſadors to Rome to obtain more ample powers. Doctor Stephen Gardiner, the cardinal's ſecretary, and doctor Edward Fox, the king's almoner, two of the moſt learned men in England, were pitched upon for this embaſſy, and prodigious pains were taken to furniſh them with every thing that could contribute to render their negociations ſucceſsful. Theſe ambaſſadors ſet out from London 10th February,

[354] Burnet, vol. i. p. 43, 44.

and

and carried with them the draught of a commiſſion to cardinal Wolſey and another cardinal, to try this great cauſe in England; in which every clauſe was inſerted that could render it effectual, and prevent the advocation of the cauſe to Rome; together with letters from the king and the cardinal, containing every argument and motive that could be conceived to engage his holineſs to grant the commiſſion. The cardinal's letter was written with as much earneſtneſs and importunity as if his life had been at ſtake. As Henry was vain of his learning, and fond of literary fame, he compoſed a book to prove the illegality of his marriage, which he delivered to the ambaſſadors to be preſented to the pope; and, which was of more conſequence, he entruſted them with a great ſum of money, to be diſtributed in the court of Rome. The ambaſſadors, according to their inſtructions, went firſt to the court of France, and procured letters from that king, importuning the pope to grant the requeſt of the king of England; and after a fatiguing journey, they arrived at Orvieto March 20th, A. D. 1528 [355]. A. D. 1528.

Though the war was ſtill carried on in Italy, the plenipotentiaries of France and England continued their negotiations at the court of Spain for obtaining a peace, and the mitigation of ſome of the articles of the treaty of Madrid. But about the beginning of this year all hopes of peace vaniſhed; the two kings recalled their ambaſſadors, Declaration of war.

[355] Strype, vol. i. p. 90, &c. Burnet, vol. i. p. 51, 52. Records, ibid. No. xi.

A. D. 1528. and declared war in form againſt the emperor, by their reſpective heralds, January 22d, A. D. 1528[356]. Charles, in his anſwer to the Engliſh herald, ſpoke in reſpectful terms of his royal maſter, and regretted the loſs of his friendſhip, which he imputed to the reſentment of cardinal Wolſey, who was offended with him becauſe he had refuſed to make him pope by force of arms. In his ſpeech to the French herald he expreſſed himſelf with great aſperity againſt Francis; declaring that he had violated his moſt ſolemn oaths, and acted in a manner unbecoming a gentleman. This produced a challenge to ſingle combat from Francis, which was accepted by Charles, and made a mighty noiſe for ſome time, but at length came to nothing[357].

Duplicity of the cardinal.

When the emperor's ambaſſador received the news of this declaration of war, he prepared for his departure; but he was detained by Wolſey, who wrote him a letter, aſſuring him that the herald had exceeded his powers, and that he ſhould be puniſhed for it on his return. The herald obtained an authentic copy of this letter, which he laid before the king, together with three letters in the cardinal's own hand, commanding him to declare war. Henry was ſo much enraged at the duplicity and preſumption of his favourite, that it was with great difficulty he was appeaſed; and it is probable that the impreſſion it made upon his mind was never entirely effaced[358].

356 Rym. tom. xiv. p. 200. Herbert, p. 85. Guicciard. p. 471.

357 Memoires de Bellay, tom. i. p. 103. Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 330, &c.

358 Hall, f. 171. 173. Herbert, p. 90.

If

If this war had been profecuted with vigour, according to the plan propoſed, of invading Flanders by a French army on one ſide, and an Engliſh army on the other, it would have involved the emperor in great perplexity. But it was exceedingly unpopular in England, and almoſt the whole nation exclaimed againſt it, and againſt the cardinal, the author of it, who, they ſaid, ſacrificed the peace and proſperity of his country to gratify his own reſentment. Beſide this, the king's attention was ſo entirely engroſſed by the affair of his divorce, that he liſtened with pleaſure to ſome pacific propoſals that were made to him by Margaret governeſs of the Low Countries, and a truce for eight months was concluded June 8th, to which the king of France acceded with great reluctance June 24th [359]. A. D. 1528. Truce.

When the Engliſh ambaſſadors, Gardiner and Fox, were admitted to an audience of the pope at Orvieto, March 23d, they found him ill accommodated, ill attended, and in great dread of the imperial army. Having delivered the king's letters and the cardinal's, he read them, and then broke out into the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of gratitude to the king, and of his earneſt deſire to oblige him. They then preſented the king's book, and entered into a long converſation on the object of their embaſſy; in which they removed ſome unfavourable impreſſions the pope had received of the lady Anne Boleyn, and of the ſincerity of the cardinal in his deſire of the divorce. At laſt they produced the Negotiation

[359] Rym. tom. xiv. p. 258, &c.

A.D. 1528. copy of the commiſſion to cardinal Wolſey, and another cardinal to be named by the pope, which they moſt earneſtly entreated him to grant, and recommended cardinal Campegius, as the propereſt perſon to be joined with Wolſey; leaving the commiſſion with him for his conſideration [360].

continued. The Engliſh ambaſſadors had ſeveral other long conferences with the pope, in the preſence of the cardinals and other learned men; in which they entered upon the merits of the king's cauſe, the illegality of his marriage, the inſufficiency of the diſpenſation of Julius II. to render it lawful, and the neceſſity of granting the commiſſion in the form required. In the preamble of that commiſſion it was gently hinted, that ſome people denied that the pope had power to diſpenſe with the laws of God: but they ſoon found that this was a topic not to be inſiſted upon; for though Clement was much diſpirited by his late captivity and his preſent diſtreſs, he ſtill retained ſo much of the ſpirit of his predeceſſors, that he would hear no reaſoning on the limits of his power. But though the popes of thoſe times impiouſly claimed the power of diſpenſing with the laws of God, they had the modeſty to acknowledge that former popes might have been deceived and impoſed upon by miſinformation, and that the diſpenſations and other bulls which they had granted upon wrong ſuggeſtions, were null and of no force. The ambaſſadors therefore ſet themſelves to prove, that the diſpenſation for their king's marriage was granted

Arguments of the ambaſſadors.

[360] Strype, p. 91—94.

upon

upon wrong ſuggeſtions, and conſequently was null and void, and the marriage unlawful. The ſuggeſtions on which it was granted were theſe two; 1. That the marriage was neceſſary to prevent the moſt cruel and bloody wars between the kingdoms of Spain and England. 2. That it was moſt earneſtly deſired by Henry prince of Wales. The firſt of theſe was unqueſtionably falſe, becauſe the two nations and the two royal families were then in the moſt perfect amity, and had no ground of quarrel. The ſecond could not be true, becauſe Henry was then only in his twelfth year, and could not ſo much as give his conſent, and he had proteſted againſt the projected marriage on the very day he had completed his fourteenth year[361]. A.D. 1528.

Theſe arguments, the importunity of the ambaſſadors, but eſpecially the progreſs of the French and their confederates, who had invaded the kingdom of Naples, prevailed upon the cautious and timid pontiff to take ſome ſteps which ſeemed to promiſe Henry ſucceſs in this great cauſe. Soon after the confederate army, commanded by Lautric, had inveſted the city of Naples, in which the imperial army had taken ſhelter, the pope believing the war to be near at an end, and that the imperialiſts would be driven out of Italy, granted the Engliſh ambaſſadors almoſt whatever they deſired. By a bull dated at Viterbo June 6th, he appointed cardinal Wolſey and cardinal Campegius his legates *a latere* in England, with the moſt ample powers to judge and determine the affair of the king's Bulls obtained.

[361] Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 25. Burnet, vol. i. p. 52.

mar-

A. D. 1528. marriage[362]. As the affairs of the confederates ſtill continued to wear a favourable aſpect, and it was expected they would ſoon make themſelves maſters of the city and kingdom of Naples, the pope proceeded a ſtep further, and on July 13th he ſigned a ſolemn pollicitation, that he would never revoke the commiſſion he had given to the legates, nor advocate the cauſe to Rome. By the importunate ſolicitations of the ambaſſadors, he granted, about the ſame time or ſoon after, a decretal bull, annulling Henry's marriage with queen Catharine, and permitting him to marry any other lady[363]. This bull was committed to Campegius to be carried into England.

Duplicity of the pope.

Henry and his miniſters now imagined that they had ſurmounted all difficulties, and entertained the ſtrongeſt hopes of obtaining the deſired divorce in a very ſhort time. But they were much miſtaken. The pope had other views, of which they were entirely ignorant. Though he publicly profeſſed the moſt inviolable attachment to the kings of France and England and their confederates, and the moſt implacable reſentment againſt the emperor, yet he privately negotiated a reconciliation with that prince, and reſolved to do nothing effectual in favour of the king of England that might prevent the ſucceſs of that negotiation. He was confirmed in this reſolution by the unfortunate turn the affairs of the confederates had taken before Naples, where their army was threatened

[362] Rym. tom. xiv. p. 295.

[363] Herbert, p. 101. Burnet, vol. i. p. 54, 55.

with

with deſtruction by famine and the peſtilence. A. D. 1528.
Though he had granted, therefore, the above bulls, to cheriſh the hopes of the king, and excite the fears of the emperor, and make him more deſirous of an accommodation, he took the moſt effectual meaſures to prevent their execution. With this view he directed Campegius (who was entirely under his influence) to pretend great reluctance to undertake ſo long a journey on account of his age and infirmities; and when this difficulty was overcome by the importunity, the promiſes, and certain other more powerful arguments of the Engliſh ambaſſadors, he travelled ſo ſlowly, that he did not arrive in England till the month of October [364].

Though Henry had been much diſguſted with Campegius for his affected delays, he prepared to give him a moſt magnificent reception, which he, being much afflicted with the gout, declined. When he had reſted ſome days, and was a little recovered, he was carried in a chair, accompanied by cardinal Wolſey and a ſplendid train of nobles, to an audience of the king at Bridewell. At this audience his ſecretary made an elegant harangue in Latin, in which he painted the cruelties committed by the imperial army at the ſacking of Rome in the ſtrongeſt colours, and concluded with a flattering addreſs to the king as the ſaviour of the church and deliverer of the pope. To this harangue doctor Fox made a modeſt reply in the ſame lan- Campegius arrives in England.

364 Burnet, p. 54, 55. Herbert, p. 107. Strype, Records, No. xxiii, xxiv, xxv, xxvi.

guage.

A. D. 1528. guage[365]. When the aſſembly was diſmiſſed, the two cardinals had a private conference with the king, in which Campegius, it is ſaid, exhorted him to live in love and harmony with his queen, and deſiſt from proſecuting for a divorce. This exhortation was equally unexpected and diſagreeable. But Henry's circumſtances at this time obliged him to bear many things that were very unpleaſant to his proud impatient ſpirit.

Refuſal of Campegius and the pope to part with the decretal bull.

To mitigate the king's diſpleaſure and revive his hopes, Campegius ſhewed to him and the cardinal the decretal bull which annulled his marriage with the queen, and permitted him to marry any other lady. But when he was deſired to commit this bull to Wolſey for a few days, that he might ſhew it to ſome of the king's confidential counſellors, he abſolutely refuſed, and could not be prevailed upon by the moſt earneſt entreaties to part with it, or ſhew it to any other. This greatly irritated and diſconcerted both the king and the cardinal. They apprehended that ſome deception was intended, and determined, if poſſible, to get poſſeſſion of that bull, which would have effectually ſecured their ſucceſs, and put it out of the power of the pope to diſappoint them. With this view, the cardinal wrote to ſir Gregory Caſſali, commanding him to wait upon the pope, and prevail upon him to ſend an order to Campegius to ſhew the decretal bull to ſome of the king's confidential ſervants; and he deſires him to plead this cauſe with as much earneſt-

[365] Hall, f. 179.

neſs

neſs as if he was pleading for the ſalvation of his ſoul [366]. But the pope proved as obſtinate as Campegius. For though John and Vincent Caſſali (in the abſence of their brother ſir Gregory, who was confined by ſickneſs at Bononia) importuned him in the moſt earneſt manner, and employed every argument that could work upon his hopes and fears, and renewed their arguments and importunities ſeveral different days, he remained inflexible. Of all this John Caſſali wrote a long account to cardinal Wolſey, dated at Rome December 15th, and ſent it by his brother Vincent [367]. The two Caſſalis, in the courſe of their application to the pope, diſcovered his negotiation with the emperor, and that it was this that made him ſo reſolute in refuſing to comply with the king's requeſt. A. D. 1528.

Speech of the king.

Henry and his miniſters were in no little perplexity at this time. On the arrival of Campegius, the king's divorce became the ſubject of almoſt every converſation, and was in general ſo unpopular, that they dreaded inſurrections in ſeveral places. To prevent theſe the king made a ſpeech to an aſſembly of nobles, prelates, the mayor, aldermen, and principal citizens of London, and many other perſons of note, in the hall of his palace of Bridewell November 8th. In this ſpeech he declared, with the moſt awful ſolemnity, that the troubles of his conſcience about the unlawfulneſs of his marriage, and the dread of leaving a diſputed ſucceſſion, and not any diſlike to his queen, whom

366 Burnet, Records, No. xvi. 367 Ibid. No. xvii.

he

A. D. 1528. he highly praiſed, were the motives which had determined him to have the lawfulneſs or unlawfulneſs of his marriage fully tried and finally decided. He entreated all who heard him to quiet the minds of his ſubjects in their ſeveral countries, by informing them of what he had now ſaid; declaring, that if any of them after this preſumed to impute his conduct to unworthy motives, or attempted to raiſe diſturbances, they ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed [369]. This ſpeech, with ſome other precautions that were taken, preſerved the public tranquillity.

The cardinals wait on the queen.

A few days after this, the two cardinals waited upon the queen, and intimated to her the commiſſion they had received from the pope to try the validity of her marriage. Campegius was the ſpeaker on this occaſion, and exhorted her, it is ſaid, to retire from the world, and enter into a religious life. The queen anſwered him with great compoſure, that ſhe was the king's lawful wife, and not at her own diſpoſal. That ſhe could take no ſtep without the advice of the emperor her nephew, from whom ſhe expected protection; and that ſhe could not look upon them as unbiaſſed judges in her cauſe. Then turning to cardinal Wolſey, ſhe ſpoke with greater aſperity, reproaching him as the firſt mover of this matter, and the great author of all her troubles, from his hatred to the emperor, becauſe he had refuſed to make him pope by force of arms; and from his reſentment againſt her, becauſe ſhe had often reproved him for his pride, lewdneſs, and other vices. The cardinal denied

[368] Hall, f. 180. Stowe, p. 541.

that he had been the firſt mover of the king's ſcru- A. D. 1528.
ples about his marriage, and that he was reſolved to act the part of an upright impartial judge[369]. Campegius ſent an account of this converſation to the pope, and deſired further inſtructions; which his holineſs was in no haſte to ſend, as his great object was to gain time to finiſh his treaty with the emperor.

Ambaſſadors ſent to Rome.

Henry, impatient of theſe delays, and anxious about the ſucceſs of his application to the pope for the decretal bull, ſent ſir Francis Brian and Mr. Peter Vannes to Rome in the beginning of December, with inſtructions to diſſuade the pope from agreeing with the emperor; to offer him a guard of two thouſand men for the protection of his perſon; and if nothing elſe could avail, to threaten, that if he did not do the king juſtice without delay, he and his ſubjects would withdraw their obedience from the ſee of Rome. They were alſo directed to conſult with the moſt learned men in the court of Rome about the practicability of ſeveral ſchemes for granting the king relief, particularly if the pope could give him a diſpenſation to have two wives, and if the iſſue of both would be legitimate[370]. Theſe ſchemes were ſuggeſted by Campegius, with no other view but to feed the king with vain hopes, and to keep him in good humour with thoſe who were deceiving him.

The pope deceives the king.

With the ſame inſidious view the pope ſent his prothonotary Gambara into England, with a letter of credence to cardinal Wolſey, dated at Rome December 15th. The letter contained nothing

[369] Hall, f. 181. [370] Burnet, p. 62. Records, No. xix.

but

A. D. 1528. but unmeaning profeſſions of friendſhip to the king and him, and a deſire to give entire credit to what the bearer would communicate, though he knew he would not tell them one word of truth. Gambara acted his part perfectly well. He aſſured them, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that his holineſs was now determined to grant the king whatever he deſired, and to do for him not only what he could do in juſtice and equity, but whatever he could do in the plenitude of his power. That he had ſo deep a ſenſe of the king's merits, and the obligations he had laid on him, that if the reſignation of the popedom might do him any ſervice, he would readily reſign it. The king and the cardinal were greatly elated by theſe aſſurances; and in order to take advantage of the favourable diſpoſition of the pope, they reſolved to ſend doctor Stephen Gardiner, their moſt active and able negotiator, immediately to Rome to finiſh the buſineſs. But all this was mere deluſion. There was no truth in Gambara's declarations, and his real errand in England was to ſee Campegius burn the decretal bull, about which the pope was under the moſt terrible apprehenſions, often ſaying to his confidents, that if by any accident it was made public, and came to the emperor's knowledge, he would be utterly ruined [371].

A.D. 1529. The pope falls ſick. When doctor Gardiner was at Lyons on his way to Rome, he received intelligence that the pope had fallen ſick when he was at maſs January 6th; that it was believed he was dying, and that many

[371] Burnet, p. 61, 62, 63.

of

of the cardinals had caſt their eyes on cardinal Wolſey to be his ſucceſſor. Of all this he informed the cardinal by an expreſs; and ſoon after it was reported that the pope was dead. This once more rouſed Wolſey's ambition, and revived his hopes. He wrote, February the 6th, to the Engliſh ambaſſadors at Rome, to exert all their activity and art to promote his election [372]. The king at the ſame time inſtructed them, "firſt to offer the "cardinals good reaſons to convince them of Wol- "ſey's fitneſs for the papacy. But becauſe human "frailty is ſuch that reaſon doth not always take "place, you muſt promiſe promotions and ſums "of money, with other good rewards; and that all "the good preferments the cardinal hath, ſhall be "ſhareda mong thoſe who procure his election [373]." Such were the arts employed, in thoſe times, in the election of the ſucceſſors of St. Peter. A. D. 1529.

The pope's recovery ſoon put a ſtop to theſe intrigues; but his relapſe in the beginning of March revived them. When cardinal Wolſey heard of this relapſe, which was repreſented as very dangerous, he wrote two very long letters to doctor Gardiner, ſir Francis Brian, ſir Gregory Caſſalis, and Mr. Peter Vannes, the king's reſidents at Rome, in which he diſcovers the moſt extreme anxiety about his own advancement and the king's divorce, and ſuggeſts the moſt artful methods for obtaining theſe ends. He directs them to take care that the biſhop of Verona, or ſome other truſty friend of theirs, ſhould be always with his holineſs, and em- Letters ſent to Rome.

372 Burnet, Records, No. xx. 373 Ibid. p. 64.

A.D.1529. brace every opportunity of ſpeaking favourably of the king's cauſe; that they ſhould endeavour to get acceſs to him in his ſickneſs, and urge him with the moſt earneſt importunity to grant a decretal bull, or at leaſt a more ample commiſſion to the legates; and even to tell him, that if he delayed to do this juſtice to a prince who had done ſo much for him and for the church, he could not expect the ſalvation of his ſoul. At the ſame time the two legates, Wolſey and Campegius, wrote a very long, eloquent, and affecting letter to the pope, in which they endeavoured, by the moſt earneſt entreaties and moſt powerful arguments, to prevail upon him to grant a decretal bull, diſſolving the king's marriage, and permitting him to marry another lady; which would put a period to this moſt dangerous diſpute. All theſe letters were ſent to Rome with the greateſt poſſible expedition [374].

Letters from Rome.

When the pope had recovered, and began to do buſineſs, the Engliſh ambaſſadors were admitted to an audience, and employed the ſtrongeſt arguments and moſt earneſt entreaties to prevail upon his holineſs to grant the decretal bull. But all their arguments and entreaties were ineffectual. They received a poſitive refuſal, accompanied indeed with many ſtrong expreſſions of friendſhip for their royal maſter, which they well knew to be of no value. In a word, the ambaſſadors, who were men of ability, and had good intelligence, diſcovered that the pope was fully determined to deſert his confederates, and unite himſelf with the emperor, and

374 Burnet, Records, No. xxii, xxiii, xxiv.

that,

that, whatever he might pretend, he never would do any thing effectual to promote the king's divorce, but every thing to feed him with vain hopes, as he had hitherto done. Of this they informed both the king and the cardinal by letters dated at Rome May 4th [375]. The cardinal's anſwer to theſe letters was dated May 21ſt, and ſent by doctor Bennet, who was directed to remain at Rome to aſſiſt ſir Gregory Caſſalis and Mr. Vannes in counteracting the emperor's agents, and endeavouring to prevent the avocation of the cauſe to Rome. Brian and Gardiner were commanded to return home, where their ſervices were wanted. A.D. 1529.

Henry was now ſenſible of the error he had committed in relying on the deluſive promiſes of the pope by Gambara, and reſolved that the two legates ſhould proceed without delay to execute their commiſſion. The great hall of the Black-friars being properly fitted up for holding their court, the two cardinals took their ſeats with great pomp May 31ſt; their commiſſion was read, the clerks were ſworn to the faithful diſcharge of their duty, and an order given to ſummon the king and queen to appear in court June 18th, to which they adjourned. On that day the king appeared by two procurators, and the queen in perſon, and proteſted againſt the legates as partial incompetent judges, affirming that the cauſe was avocated to Rome, and craving time to bring proof of the truth of that affirmation. They gave her to the 21ſt of June, to which they adjourned. As the former The legates hold their court.

[375] Burnet, Records, No. xxv.

A.D.1529. adjournment was far too long, this was evidently much too ſhort to anſwer the purpoſe for which it was demanded. Both the king and queen appeared perſonally in court June 21ſt; "but ſhe perſiſting "in her former willfulneſs, and in her appeal; "which alſo by the ſaid judges was likewiſe re- "cuſed; and they minding to proceed further in "the cauſe, the queen would no longer make her "aboad to hear what the ſaid judges would fully "diſcern, but incontinently departed out of the "court; wherefore ſhe was thrice preconniſate, "and called eftſoons to return and appear; which "ſhe refuſing to do, was denounced by the judges "contumax, and a citation decerned for her ap- "pearance on Friday next [376]." But the queen never appeared after this in that court. The legates held ſeveral ſeſſions in the month of July, in which they examined a great number of witneſſes, to prove that prince Arthur's marriage had been conſummated, of which as much evidence was produced as could be expected of ſuch a matter, at ſo great a diſtance of time [377].

Their court adjourned.

The cauſe being now ripe for deciſion, a ſeſſion was held July 30th, in order, as all the world imagined, to pronounce a definitive ſentence. The court was crowded with noblemen and gentlemen, the king was in an adjoining apartment, impatiently expecting to hear that a ſentence of divorce was

[376] As it is impoſſible to reconcile the accounts given by hiſtorians of the queen's behaviour June 21ſt, I have related it in the words of the king, in a letter to his ambaſſadors at Rome, dated June 23d. Burnet, vol. i. Records, No. xxviii.

[377] Hall, p. 113, &c.

pro-

pronounced, when Campegius declared, that the courts at Rome were adjourned on that day, and therefore he and his colleague adjourned that court to October 1ſt. It is impoſſible to deſcribe the ſurpriſe and indignation of the audience. The duke of Suffolk, in a ſtorm of rage, beat with violence on the table, and ſaid, he now ſaw the truth of the old ſaying, that no legate ever did good in England. Then he and the duke of Norfolk, with the other noblemen and gentlemen, retired with precipitation, leaving the two cardinals in their chairs of ſtate, ſtaring at one another. When Henry was informed of what had happened, he could hardly reſtrain his fury; but being ignorant of what was done at Rome, and ſtill hoping to obtain a ſentence in his favour at the next meeting of the court, he became more calm, and behaved with more temper than could have been expected. A.D. 1529.

Deceit of the pope and cardinals.

Henry had not only been cruelly deceived by the pope, but alſo by Campegius, an old, profligate, unprincipled debauchee, who ſpent his days in hunting, gaming, and feaſting, and his nights in the company of courtezans. He had made him ſo many preſents, and ſo many promiſes, that he imagined he had entirely gained him to his intereſt. But he was quite miſtaken. He took his preſents, and betrayed his ſecrets. He even found means to pilfer from his cabinet ſome love-letters that had paſſed between him and Anne Boleyn, and ſent them to Rome, where they ſtill remain. His own great favourite, cardinal Wolſey, had acted in a

A.D. 1529. very myſterious manner during the late trial. Though he was one of the proudeſt men alive, took place of all men, and the lead in all affairs, he permitted Campegius, who was a younger cardinal, and his inferior in all reſpects, to conduct the whole proceſs, and do what he pleaſed. Beſides this, he gave the king no hint of the intended adjournment of the court, of which he could not be ignorant, and ſuffered that blow to fall upon him without any warning. Theſe things excited ſtrong ſuſpicions in the king's mind that Wolſey deceived him; and though he concealed his ſuſpicions for ſome time, they weakened his confidence in him, and their effects ſoon appeared.

The king's cauſe avocated to Rome.

While the two legates were holding their courts in England, the Engliſh reſidents at Rome were labouring with great zeal to prevent the avocation of the cauſe, which the emperor's agents were ſoliciting with equal zeal. For ſome time the pope appeared exceedingly perplexed and undetermined, and by that artful conduct he encouraged the hopes of the king, and excited the fears of the emperor, to retard the reſentment of the former, and to procure better conditions from the latter in the treaty that was then negotiating. But as ſoon as his holineſs received intelligence that the treaty with the emperor was concluded at Barcelona July 3d, he began to talk in a more determined tone, and told the Engliſh ambaſſadors, that he could not in juſtice refuſe to grant the avocation. They then redoubled their efforts to procure a delay of what they could

could not prevent, in hopes that the cauſe would be determined in England before the avocation was iſſued. Doctor Bennet, on his knees, and with many tears, aſſured him, that the king and kingdom of England would be loſt as ſoon as the cauſe was avocated. He conjured him at leaſt to delay till he had written to the king and received his anſwer; but in vain. The pope ſtood firm, and actually ſigned the avocation July 18th, and the day after ſent it away with a letter to cardinal Wolſey [378]. The ambaſſadors had taken care to inform their royal maſter from time to time of every ſtep they had taken, and of all the fears they entertained, which prepared him for receiving this moſt unwelcome news. A.D. 1529.

Henry diſcontented with Wolſey.

Henry, to divert his chagrin occaſioned by the adjournment and avocation of his cauſe, ſet out on a progreſs, accompanied by lady Ann Boleyn, in the beginning of Auguſt. The two cardinals followed him, and were admitted to an audience at Grafton, at which the king ſo far conſtrained himſelf, that he received and treated them both with civility, and diſmiſſed Campegius without any expreſſions of reſentment for the treacherous and ungrateful part he had acted. The cardinals retired that night to Towceſter, and Wolſey returned next morning to Graſton to wait upon the king; but a meſſage was ſent him to go and accompany Campegius to London; and after this repulſe he never was permitted to ſee his indulgent maſter, with whom he had been ſo long on ſuch a friendly and familiar footing [379]. It was now viſible to the

[378] Burnet, p. 75, 76. Records, No. xxx. [379] Hall, f. 193.

A.D.1529. whole court that Henry was diſcontented with his favourite, and no endeavours were wanting to increaſe his diſcontent.

The king in great perplexity.

The king was in very perplexing circumſtances at this time, and had many things to irritate and diſquiet his mind. The pope, for whom he had been a moſt zealous champion, and from whom he had received the moſt ſolemn aſſurances of favour, had firſt deluded, then abandoned, and at laſt inſulted him, by citing him to appear at Rome to plead his cauſe, and threatening him with all the thunders of the church if he diſobeyed. Cardinal Campegius, on whom he had heaped favours, preſents, and promiſes, and in whoſe profeſſions he had placed an entire confidence, he was now convinced, had deceived him from firſt to laſt; and he ſtrongly ſuſpected that his own great favourite Wolſey, who had been raiſed by him from the duſt, honoured with his warmeſt friendſhip for many years, and loaded with dignities and riches, had joined in the deceit. His queen, by her invincible oppoſition to his will, her affectation of popularity, and her joy at the avocation of his cauſe, had increaſed his diſlike to diſguſt, if not to hatred; and yet he ſaw no way of procuring a divorce from her, or of obtaining the lady he loved. In this ſituation he formed various projects; but as none of them promiſed ſucceſs, they were all relinquiſhed.

Peace of Cambray.

The king of France having loſt all hopes of recovering his two ſons from the emperor by the force of his arms, which had been unfortunate, had for ſome time paſt been negotiating a peace with

that prince, and the negotiation had been managed by two female politicians, Margaret governeſs of the Low Countries, the emperor's aunt, and Louiſe of Savoy, the king's mother. Theſe two ſingular plenipotentiaries, after many conferences, concluded a perpetual peace between the two monarchs at Cambray Auguſt 5th, A. D. 1529. By this peace four articles of the treaty of Madrid were a little mitigated. In particular, the emperor agreed to accept of two millions of crowns inſtead of Burgundy, as a ranſom for the two French princes. The allies of both parties were comprehended in this peace, and among others the king of England, who acceded to it, though no attention had been paid to his intereſt in the negotiation. On this occaſion Henry behaved with great generoſity to his unfortunate ally the king of France. To enable him to pay the great ranſom for his ſons, he aſſigned to him a debt of 290,000 crowns due by the emperor, and made him a preſent of a jewel called the fleur de lys, which the emperor's father had pledged to Henry VII. for 50,000 crowns[380]. A.D. 1529.

As the king returned from his progreſs, the court remained one night at Waltham, and doctor Gardiner and doctor Fox, the king's ſecretary and almoner, were lodged in the houſe of one Mr. Creſſy, with whom doctor Thomas Cranmer of Cambridge (who will be often mentioned) then reſided. After ſupper, the converſation, as uſual, turned on the king's divorce. The two courtiers Doctor Cranmer's advice.

[380] Herbert, p. 131—134.

deſired

A. D. 1529. deſired to know doctor Cranmer's ſentiments on that ſubject, and what he thought ſhould be done in the preſent ſtate of that buſineſs. He at firſt declined to give his opinion on ſo high a matter. But being warmly preſſed, he ſaid, that rather than ſpend any more time in fruitleſs ſolicitations at Rome, he thought it would be better to propoſe this plain queſtion to the moſt learned men and chief univerſities in Europe,—"Do the laws of God permit a man to marry his brother's widow?" If their anſwers were in the negative, as he imagined they would be, the pope would not dare to pronounce a ſentence in oppoſition to the ſentiments of all theſe learned men and learned bodies. When the court returned to Greenwich, the ſecretary and almoner waited upon the king, and communicated the hint ſuggeſted by Cranmer, with which he was mightily pleaſed; and having ordered him to be ſent for, he was no leſs pleaſed with his appearance and converſation. He immediately retained him in his ſervice, placed him in the family of ſir Thomas Boleyn earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond, father of lady Ann Boleyn, and engaged him to write a book in favour of the divorce, and afterwards employed him in the execution of his own ſchemes [381].

Fall of cardinal Wolſey.

Cardinal Wolſey, who had ſo long enjoyed the unbounded confidence and favour of his ſovereign, now ſaw the clouds gathering around him, and began to dread a ſtorm; but it proved both more

[381] Burnet, p. 79, 80. Strype's Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 4, 5.

ſudden and more ſevere than he apprehended. By A.D. 1529.
the whiſpers of the courtiers, and particularly of the lady Ann Boleyn, the king's diſpleaſure againſt him was daily more and more inflamed, and a deſign was formed to bring him down from the towering height to which he had aſcended. This deſign was kept very ſecret; and if the means employed to accompliſh it were not illegal, they were certainly very rigorous. The cardinal, on the firſt day of the term, October 9th, rode with his uſual pomp to Weſtminſter to open his court of chancery; and on the ſame day the king's attorney preſented an indictment againſt him in the king's bench, on the ſtatute of proviſors 16 Richard II. for procuring a bull from Rome appointing him *legatus a latere*, contrary to the ſtatute, by which he had incurred a *præmunire*, and forfeited all his goods, and even his liberty, to the king[382]. A few days after this, Henry ſent the dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk to the cardinal to demand the great ſeal, which he refuſed to deliver on a verbal meſſage; but when they afterwards produced a written order, he obeyed, and put the ſeal into their hands October 17th, which the king delivered to ſir Thomas More on the 25th of the ſame month[383]. The two dukes, at the ſame time that they received the great ſeal from the cardinal, delivered to him a very unpleaſant meſſage from the king, commanding him to remove from his palace in Weſtminſter, called York-place, (afterwards Whitehall,) and go

[382] Herbert, p. 124. Fiddes' Life of Wolſey, p. 496.
[383] Rym. tom. xiv. p. 349.

to

A. D. 1529. to Aſhur, a houſe near Hampton-court, belonging to his biſhopric of Wincheſter, to which he had lately been advanced [384].

Theſe ſevere and heavy blows following one another ſo quickly, ſeemed to have ſtunned the unhappy cardinal, and deprived him of that fortitude of which he ſtood ſo much in need. He was aſtoniſhed, and not without reaſon, that the king's friendſhip for him, which had been ſo warm and of ſuch long duration, had vaniſhed in a moment, and had been ſucceeded by ſo violent an animoſity as theſe proceedings indicated. He knew the king's temper too well to imagine that any oppoſition he could make would anſwer any good purpoſe, and therefore reſolved to make none. But before he left York-place, he ordered an exact inventory to be taken of all the furniture, plate, &c. in that palace, of which the following is a ſhort deſcription, given by one who had aſſiſted in taking that inventory: "In his gallery were ſet divers tables, "upon which were laid divers and great ſtores of "rich ſtuffs; as whole pieces of ſilk of all colours, "velvets, ſattins, muſts, taffaties, grograms, ſcarlets, "and divers rich commodities. Alſo there were a "thouſand pieces of fine hollands, and the hangings "of the gallery with cloth of gold and cloth of ſil-"ver, and rich cloth of bodkin of divers colours, "which were hanged in expectation of the king's "coming. Alſo, on one ſide of the gallery were "hanged the rich ſuits of copes of his own provid-"ing, which were made for the colleges of Oxford

[384] Fiddes, p. 497.

"and

"and Ipſwich; they were the richeſt that ever I ſaw A. D. 1529.
"in all my life. Then had he two chambers ad-
"joining to the gallery, the one moſt commonly
"called the gilt chamber, wherein were ſet two
"broad and long tables, whereupon was ſet ſuch
"abundance of plate of all ſorts, as was almoſt in-
"credible to be believed, a great part being all of
"clear gold; and upon every table and cupboard
"where the plate was ſet were books importing
"every kind of plate, and every piece, with the
"contents and weight thereof[385]." In a word, the goods, plate, and furniture of that palace were eſtimated at 500,000 crowns, equivalent to 500,000 l. of our money. A ſtriking proof of the magnificent ſpirit, as well as of the immenſe wealth, of this extraordinary man!

When the cardinal had ſet every thing in order at York-place, he took his barge at the privy ſtairs, followed by a numerous train of attendants, and ſailed down the river, which was almoſt covered with boats and barges, crowded with the citizens of London, expecting to ſee him carried to the Tower[386]. They were diſappointed. He landed at Putney, and mounting his mule, ſet out on his journey. But he had not gone far, when he was accoſted by Mr. Norris, a gentleman of the court, with a moſt gracious meſſage from the king; aſſuring him that he ſtood as high as ever in his royal favour. This unexpected meſſage threw his ſpirits into ſo violent an agitation, that forgetting both his age and dignity, he ſprung from his mule,

[385] Cavendiſh's Life of Wolſey, p. 79. [386] Ibid.

fell

A. D. 1529. fell on his knees in the mire, and holding up his hands, uttered ſome extravagant expreſſions of joy and gratitude [387]. But he ſoon recovered from this unſeemly perturbation, and converſed calmly with Mr. Norris, who delivered him a ring which the king had been accuſtomed to ſend him, as a token to give credit to the bearer. It is impoſſible to diſcover what induced Henry to ſend this meſſage; whether it proceeded from ſome remains of affection, or was a mere artifice to prevent his making any defence in the proſecution commenced againſt him on the ſtatute of proviſors. The cardinal arrived at Aſhur the ſame evening, and found the houſe almoſt quite unfurniſhed, and very unlike the magnificent manſion he had left [388].

The cardinal's goods forfeited.

The king granted the cardinal, by letters patent, a power to appoint two attornies to appear and anſwer for him in all courts of juſtice [389]. He accordingly conſtituted John Seuſe and Chriſtopher Genney his attornies, who appeared for him October 28, and proteſted in his name, "That he did not "know that the impetration of the bulls from "Rome was to the contempt and prejudice of the "king, or againſt any ſtatute. As to the particu- "lars wherewith he was charged by maſter attor- "ney, he confeſt them all true; and ſo ſubmitted "himſelf to the king." Upon which the court pronounced this ſentence: "That he was out "of the protection, and his lands, goods, and "chattels forfeit, and his perſon might be ſeiſed [390]."

387 Stowe, p. 547. 388 Ibid. p. 548. Cavendiſh, p. 81.
389 Rym. tom. xiv. p. 348. 390 Herbert, p. 125.

The cardinal might have made a much better, and even effectual defence, by producing the king's letters patent, authorising him to accept the bulls from Rome [391]. But his knowledge of Henry's violent vindictive temper, and his hopes of being received again into favour, determined him to make no opposition. A. D. 1529.

After a long intermission of seven years, a parliament was now called, which met November 3d. One of the objects of calling this parliament, or at least of those who advised the calling of it, seems to have been to complete the ruin of cardinal Wolsey, and effectually prevent his returning again into favour, which his enemies greatly dreaded. With this view, a committee of the house of lords presented to that house, December 1st, a very long address to the king against the cardinal; accusing him, "That presuming to take upon him the "authority of the pope's legate *a latere*, he hath "committed notable, high, and grievous offences, "as contained in certain articles here following [392]." The articles were no fewer than forty-four; some of them trifling, some greatly exaggerated, if not untrue, few of them of great importance, and none of them very highly criminal. They are far too long to be here inserted; the following one, which is the sixth, may serve as a specimen: "Whereas "your grace is our sovereign lord and head, in "whom standeth all the surety and wealth of this "realm, the same lord cardinal, knowing himself "to have the foul and contagious disease of the Parliament.

[391] Cavendish, p. 83.

[392] Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 42.

"great

A.D. 1529. "great pox broken out upon him in divers places "of his body, came daily to your grace, rowning "(whiſpering) in your ear, and blowing upon your "moſt noble grace with his perilous infective "breath, to the marvelous danger of your highneſs, "if God of his infinite goodneſs had not better "provided for your highneſs. And when he was "once heald of them, he made your grace to "believe that his diſeaſe was an impoſthume in his "head, and none other thing[393]." The laſt article concludes with this requiſition: "Pleaſe it your "royal majeſty, therefore, of your excellent good-"neſs, towards the weale of this your realm and ſub-"jects of the ſame, to ſet ſuch order and direction "upon the ſaid lord cardinal as may be to the ter-"rible example to others, to beware ſo to offend "your grace and your laws hereafter: and that he "be ſo provided for, that he never have any power, "juriſdiction, or authority hereafter, to trouble, "vex, and impoveriſh the commonwealth of this "your realm, as he hath done heretofore, to the "great hurt and damage of every man almoſt, high "and low[394]." This addreſs was ſent to the houſe of commons, and their concurrence deſired. But there the cardinal found a powerful advocate in his own ſteward, the famous Thomas Cromwel, afterwards earl of Eſſex, who, from the very loweſt ſtation, roſe to the higheſt honours and offices in the ſtate, by the mere force of his extraordinary talents and virtues. Being a member of the houſe of commons, he defended his fallen maſter with

[393] Parl. Hiſt. p. 44. [394] Ibid. p. 55.

ſuch

ſuch ſtrength of argument and power of eloquence, that the addreſs was rejected [395]. There is ſome reaſon to ſuſpect that the king was not very fond of this addreſs, and did not wiſh to be precluded from recalling his former favourite. This much at leaſt is certain, that he was ſo far from being offended with Mr. Cromwel for defending his unhappy maſter, that he immediately engaged him in his own ſervice [396]. A. D. 1529.

This very parliament, about the ſame time, made an act unſpeakably more unjuſt, oppreſſive, and cruel, than any thing of which they had accuſed the cardinal. The king had borrowed great ſums of money from a prodigious multitude of his ſubjects of all ranks, for the repayment of which he had given bonds and other legal ſecurities. The parliament very generouſly made the king a preſent of all the money he had borrowed from his ſubjects, and declared his bonds and ſecurities to be of no value. The king thanked his two houſes in the politeſt terms for their generoſity, and graciouſly accepted their valuable preſent; while his creditors were left to condole with one another, and put up with their loſſes as well as they could. The preamble to this iniquitous ſtatute is one of the moſt extravagant pieces of flattery that ever was compoſed. In it they give a mournful deſcription of the confuſion, poverty, diſtreſs, and miſery of all other nations, and draw a very flattering picture of the riches, peace, and proſperity of England during his grace's reign; never reflecting that only a few Remarkable ſtatute.

[395] Cavendiſh, p. 82, 83. [396] Herbert, p. 129.

A. D. 1529. days before they had accuſed cardinal Wolſey of having taken the direction of all affairs, and thereby brought the nation to the very brink of ruin [397]. None of Wolſey's admirers ever paid him ſo great a compliment as this parliament, which conſpired his ruin.

Diſtreſs of the cardinal. In the mean time the cardinal was very wretched and unhappy at Aſhur. Finding himſelf unable to ſupport his attendants, he diſmiſſed a great number of them November 5th; and as he had been a very indulgent maſter, both he and they ſhed a flood of tears at parting, and ſome of the gentlemen who could ſupport themſelves refuſed to leave him [398]. His mind was violently agitated by alternate hopes and fears, occaſioned by a ſucceſſion of kind meſſages and cruel demands from the king. Sir John Ruſſel was ſent in great ſecrecy from the court at Greenwich November 6th, with a moſt comfortable aſſurance that the king was not really offended with him; and, a few days after, judge Shelley came with a command to ſurrender to the king York-place, which belonged to his ſee of York. He was greatly ſhocked at this illegal demand; but after reaſoning long with the judge, he at laſt complied. "Thus," ſays Cavendiſh, (his gentleman uſher,) "my lord continued at "Aſhur, receiving daily meſſages from the court, "ſome good and ſome bad, but more ill than "good [399]." The deſign of the cardinal's enemies at court, in procuring ſo many harſh meſſages to be

[397] Rolls of Parliament, A. D. 1529.
[398] Cavendiſh, p. 81, 82. [399] Ibid. p. 86.

ſent

ſent him, was, as we are told, either to provoke him to do ſome raſh thing that might irritate the king againſt him, or to throw him into ſome diſeaſe that might occaſion his death, which they moſt earneſtly deſired. In this laſt cruel deſign they nearly ſucceeded. At Chriſtmas he fell ſo dangerouſly ill, that his attendants believed him to be dying [400]. A. D. 1529.

The news of the cardinal's ſickneſs ſeems to have excited the king's compaſſion, of which he was not very ſuſceptible. He commanded his phyſician, doctor Butts, to go and viſit him; who, on his return to court, told the king that he was dangerouſly ill, and that if he did not receive ſome comfort from his majeſty, he would be a dead man in four days. "God forbid," ſaid Henry, "that he "ſhould die; for I would not loſe him for 20,000l. "I pray you go to him, and do your beſt care of "him." The doctor honeſtly replied, that all his care would ſignify nothing, if his majeſty did not ſend him a gracious meſſage. The king took a ring from his finger, charged with a ruby, on which his own picture was engraved, commanding the doctor to deliver it to him, and aſſure him that he was not offended with him in his heart, with many other kind expreſſions. Lady Anne Boleyn too, at the king's deſire, took her tablet of gold that hung at her ſide, and delivered it to the doctor, with many gentle and loving words. When doctor Butts delivered theſe tokens and meſſages, "the "cardinal," ſays one who was preſent, "advanced A. D. 1530. The cardinal's ſickneſs and recovery.

[400] Cavendiſh, p. 86.

A.D. 1530. "himſelf in his bed, and received the tokens very "joyfully; giving him thanks for his pains and good "comfort." From that moment his hopes revived, his diſeaſe abated, and in a few days he was out of danger[401].

Cardinal's dejection.

While the cardinal reſided at Aſhur, he neglected nothing that he thought might contribute to the recovery of the king's favour. His chief reliance ſeems to have been on the good offices of doctor Stephen Gardiner, who had formerly been his ſecretary, and was now ſecretary to the king. The letters he wrote to that gentleman in this interval, it muſt be confeſſed, do him no honour. They plainly diſcover that he did not poſſeſs that firmneſs and fortitude of mind that became a great man in his circumſtances; they betray an exceſſive fondneſs for riches, power, and royal favour, and an extreme dejection and abaſement of ſpirit on the loſs of them: in a word, they prove that cardinal Wolſey, with all his great talents, was a mere man of the world, who placed his ſupreme felicity in the ſmiles of royalty and the ſunſhine of a court, and when theſe were taken from him he had nothing left[402].

Favours to the cardinal.

Henry having by this time ſeized all the cardinal's goods and chattels, the income of his biſhoprics, abbies, and other benefices, his colleges at Oxford and Ipſwich, with all their furniture and

[401] Cavendiſh, p. 87, 88. Grove's Life and Times of Cardinal Wolſey, vol. iv. p. 325, 326.

[402] Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 115, 116. Records, No. xxxi, xxxii.

revenues,

revenues, his penſions, his clothes, and even his very tomb, ſeems to have propoſed to carry his proſecution of him no further. He granted him therefore a pardon February 12th, A. D. 1530, of all treaſons, murders, rapes and all other crimes and miſdemeanors, in the moſt ample manner that could be deviſed. Five days after this, February 17th, the king and the cardinal entered into indentures, by which the cardinal ſurrendered to the king the revenues and patronage of his biſhopric of Wincheſter and abbey of Saint Alban's, with all his other rents and penſions at home and abroad; and the king granted to the cardinal the revenues, patronages, lands, and houſes of his archbiſhopric of York, except York-place, with a penſion of 1000 marks a-year out of the biſhopric of Wincheſter. About the ſame time the king ſent him a preſent of 3000l. in money, and in plate and furniture, &c. to the value of 3374l. 3s. 7d. and gave him leave to reſide at Richmond [403]. A. D. 1530.

The cardinal's enemies at court were greatly alarmed at theſe favours, which had been granted without their knowledge. They were particularly apprehenſive of his reſiding at Richmond, ſo near the court; and therefore they exerted all their arts to procure an order for his removal to ſo great a diſtance as might prevent his having an interview with the king, which he deſired and they dreaded above all things. They at length prevailed. An order was ſent to him, by his friend Mr. Cromwel, to go and reſide in his archbiſhopric of York. The cardinal goes to the north.

[403] Rym. p. 366—376.

A.D.1530. This was a ſevere blow to the cardinal, who ſtill flattered himſelf, that if he could obtain an audience of the king, he would regain his favour. He therefore entreated Cromwel to procure him leave to reſide in his biſhopric of Wincheſter, which was not at ſo great a diſtance. But this could not be obtained, and the duke of Norfolk deſired Cromwel to tell him, that if he did not get away immediately into the north, he would come and tear him in pieces with his teeth. "Then," ſaid he, "Tom, "it is time for me to be gone." And that zealous and faithful friend having got him 1000 marks, and a moſt gracious meſſage from the king, he ſet out with one hundred and ſixty attendants, a long train of waggons, containing his plate, furniture, &c. and proceeding by eaſy journies, he arrived at Peterborough, where he celebrated the feaſt of Eaſter. He ſpent the ſummer and harveſt at Southwell and Scrooby-houſes, (belonging to his ſeed,) which he repaired; and there, by his affability and hoſpitality, he gained the eſteem and love of people of all ranks. About Michaelmas he came to his caſtle of Cawood, ſeven miles from York [404].

His behaviour there.

In this ſituation the cardinal behaved with decorum and propriety. He received all who came to viſit him with condeſcenſion, and treated them hoſpitably. Here, as he had done at Scrooby, he went to ſome neighbouring church every Sunday, where he ſaid maſs, and one of his chaplains preached. After ſervice he invited the clergy and moſt reſpectable pariſhioners to dinner, and diſtri-

[404] Cavendiſh, p. 91, 92, 93. Grove, vol. iv. p. 334.

buted

buted alms to the poor. The clergy of his cathedral he treated in the kindeſt manner; telling them he was come to live among them as their friend and brother. He could not, however, overcome his taſte for magnificence; and though he was in want of money, he employed three hundred labourers and artificers in repairing his caſtle of Cawood. His hoſpitality, popularity, and buildings, were greatly magnified and miſrepreſented to the king, to excite his jealouſy. Of this his friend Cromwel informed him, and gave him many prudent advices, which, if he could have followed, his enemies would probably have forgot to fear and perſecute him. It is ſaid by ſome hiſtorians, that the king's deſign in all he had done againſt his favourite, was to bring him to conſent to pronounce the ſentence of divorce, without regard to the court of Rome; and that when he obſtinately refuſed to do it, he reſolved to ruin him [405]. But of this I can find no evidence. A. D. 1530.

The clergy of York, highly pleaſed with their metropolitan, waited upon him in a body, and begged "that he would come to be inſtalled in his "cathedral, according to the cuſtom of his pre-"deceſſors." To this, after taking ſome time to conſider, he conſented, on condition that it ſhould be done with as little pomp as poſſible; and the Monday after All Saints was appointed to be the day of the inſtalment. As ſoon as the news of this was made puplic, the noblemen, gentleman, and clergy of the country around ſent great quantities His inſtalment appointed.

[405] Grove, vol. iv. p. 334. 339.

A. D. 1530. of proviſions of all kinds to York, and preparations were made for a moſt magnificent feaſt. But this ſolemnity was prevented by a very unexpected event [406].

His death. On the Friday before the intended inſtalment, the earl of Northumberland, accompanied by ſir Walter Walſh, a gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, and a number of horſemen, arrived at Cawood, took poſſeſſion of the caſtle, and going up ſtairs, was met by the cardinal, who embraced him, believing he had come to pay him a friendly viſit. The earl then ſaid, with a faultering voice, "I arreſt you of high treaſon." And the cardinal, in great ſurpriſe, after ſome heſitation, ſubmitted. On Sunday the earl ſet out with his priſoner for the earl of Shrewſbury's, ſteward of the king's houſehold, at Sheffield park, where they were directed to remain till further orders, and arrived there on the third day, November 9th. The earl, his lady, and family, received the cardinal with every mark of reſpect, and treated him with the greateſt tenderneſs. Here he remained about two weeks, waiting for orders from court; towards the end of which time he was ſeized with a flux. At length, ſir William Kingſton, conſtable of the Tower, arrived, with twenty-four of his guards, to conduct him to London. The earl of Shrewſbury was at great pains to communicate this news to the cardinal ſo as not to alarm him, and employed Cavendiſh, who told him he brought him good news, that the king had ſent ſir William Kingſton to con-

[406] Grove, vol. iv. p. 334. 339.

duct

duct him into his royal preſence. "Kingſton!" A.D.1530.
cried the cardinal; and clapping his hand on his thigh, gave a great ſigh. The earl then entered, and told him, that he had letters from his friends at court, which aſſured him that the king had the ſincereſt friendſhip for him, and was determined to ſhew him favour. Sir William Kingſton was then introduced, fell on his knees, and refuſing to ariſe from that poſture, delivered the king's commendations to his grace, aſſured him of his royal favour, and ſaid, that his majeſty had commanded him to obey him in all things. The cardinal, who perfectly underſtood the court language, replied, "I "know what is deſigned for me; I thank you, ſir, "for your good news; I am a diſeaſed man, but "I will prepare to ride with you to-morrow." On the third evening he reached Leiceſter-abbey, where he was received by the monks with lighted torches, to whom he ſaid, "I am come, my bre-"thren, to lay my bones amongſt you." Being lifted from his mule and carried up ſtairs, he was put to bed, where, after languiſhing two days, he expired, November 29th, A. D. 1530, in the ſixtieth year of his age. In his laſt converſation with ſir William Kingſton, among other things, he ſaid, "Had I but ſerved God as diligently as I have "ſerved the king, he would not have given me "over in my gray hairs. But this is the juſt re-"ward that I muſt receive for my diligent pains "and ſtudy, not regarding my ſervice to God, but "only to my prince. Let me adviſe you to take "heed what you put in the king's head, for you

"can

A.D. 1530. "can never put it out again. I have often kneeled "before him, ſometimes three hours together, to "perſuade him from his will and appetite, but "could not prevail [407]."

His character.

Thomas Wolſey roſe from a humble ſtation to greater wealth and power than any Britiſh ſubject ever attained. His revenues, it is ſaid, were equal to thoſe of the crown. For almoſt twenty years he not only directed all the affairs of England in church and ſtate, but had alſo very great influence in all the affairs of Europe. He was courted, preferred, and penſioned by the emperor, the king of France, and ſeveral other princes; flattered by divines, hiſtorians, and poets, in ſtrains approaching to blaſphemy; and ſerved by lords, knights, and gentlemen of the firſt rank, who bore offices in his family. His revenues he never hoarded, but expended in building noble palaces, magnificent colleges, in promoting arts and learning, and in ſupporting a princely eſtabliſhment. This power I will not ſay he never abuſed; but few miniſters have poſſeſſed ſo much power for ſo great a length of time, and abuſed it leſs. England, during his adminiſtration, was the umpire o fEurope. His abilities were certainly great, his diligence indefatigable, and he muſt have had ſomething peculiarly agreeable and captivating in his addreſs, who ſo ſuddenly gained, and ſo long preſerved, the affection of ſo capricious, ſo impetuous, and ſo fickle a prince as Henry VIII. His morals were far from being ſuitable to his clerical character and high ſtation in the

[407] Cavendiſh, chap. 19, 20.

church.

church. His ſpirits fell with his fortunes, and he never could ſubdue his paſſion for pomp and power, or relinquiſh his hopes of royal favour, which he ſolicited in ſuch an abject manner as degraded and ſunk his character. His fall was fortunate to his country in one reſpect, as it removed one of the ſtrongeſt props of the papal power, which ſoon after fell to the ground in England. A.D. 1530.

During the whole of this year, 1530, Henry was employed in proſecuting the plan ſuggeſted by doctor Cranmer, and collecting the opinions of univerſities and learned men, at home and abroad, in favour of his divorce. In this ſervice a conſiderable number of the moſt intelligent and active men in England were engaged; and they were ſo ſucceſsful, that in the courſe of this year they obtained decrees of ten of the moſt famous univerſities in Europe againſt the legality of the king's marriage; *viz.* of Oxford and Cambridge in England; of Paris, Angers, Bourges, Orleans, and Thouloufe, in France; and of Bologna, Padua, and Ferrara, in Italy [408]. They prevailed alſo on ſeveral men of learning to publiſh books in favour of the divorce, and procured the written opinions of many doctors of the civil and canon law to the ſame purpoſe [409]. Henry's agents in Switzerland and Germany were no leſs active and ſucceſsful. They applied to the proteſtants as well as papiſts, and both, in general, declared for the divorce. All theſe decrees, books, and opinions, procured with much Decrees of univerſities.

[408] Rym. tom. xiv. p. 390—400. Burnet, vol. i. p. 85—96.
[409] Ibid.

difficulty

A.D. 1530. difficulty and labour and at no ſmall expence, were tranſmitted to England.

Application to Rome.

No prince in Europe was a greater admirer of the unlimited power of the pope than Henry VIII.: he had written in defence of it; and though he was greatly diſpleaſed with Clement VII., he could not think of contradicting his own writings, by withdrawing his obedience to the holy ſee. He reſolved therefore to make ſome further attempts at the court of Rome. By his influence, a conſiderable number of the great men, both of the clergy and laity, ſent a moſt humble and earneſt addreſs to the pope, dated July 13th. In this addreſs they beſeech and conjure his holineſs, in the moſt pathetic language, to do juſtice to their diſtreſſed and injured ſovereign, by pronouncing the ſentence of his divorce, which all the moſt famous univerſities and moſt learned men in England, France, and Italy had declared to be juſt and neceſſary; intimating, in very plain terms, that if he refuſed to do this, that they would find a remedy in another way. This addreſs was ſigned by two archbiſhops, four biſhops, two dukes, two marquiſſes, thirteen earls, two viſcounts, twenty-three barons, twenty-two abbots, and eleven knights and doctors [410]. The king commanded his ambaſſadors, the earl of Wiltſhire and doctor Cranmer, who were at Bononia, where both the emperor and the pope then reſided, to ſecond and enforce the addreſs. The ambaſſadors acted their part with great zeal and ability; and the pope ſeemed to be inclined to make ſome

[410] Parliament. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 68—73.

conceſ-

conceſſions to the king, to prevent him from ſhaking off his authority. But his holineſs durſt do nothing to diſpleaſe the emperor, and that prince continued to eſpouſe the cauſe of the queen his aunt. To the addreſs of the prelates and nobles the pope returned an artful and ſmooth anſwer, which gave no ſatisfaction [411]. Doctor Cranmer boldly challenged all the learned men of the papal court to a diſpute on the queſtion of the king's marriage, but none of them choſe to accept the challenge [412]. Henry was ſo much pleaſed with this, and with the report made of him by the earl of Wiltſhire, that he appointed him his ſole ambaſſador to the emperor; and the pope, as a mark of his reſpect, and to pleaſe the king, made him his plenipotentiary for England [413]. A.D. 1530.

Henry now deſpairing of any ſucceſs at the court of Rome, brought the great affair of his divorce before his parliament, which met Jaunary 7th, A. D. 1531. On the 30th of March, the lord chancellor, attended by twelve peers, came to the houſe of commons, and made a ſpeech, explaining the king's motives for deſiring a divorce from his queen; and then produced a box, containing the decrees of univerſities, and the books and opinions of learned men, on that ſubject. Sir Bryan Tuke opened the box, and took out twelve writings ſealed, the decrees of twelve univerſities, which he read, tranſlated into Engliſh. There were, beſides, above one hundred books and writings, A.D. 1531. Parliament.

[411] Parliament. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 75—79.

[412] Strype's Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 9. [413] Ibid.

which

A.D.1531. which there was not time to read. The chancellor then ſaid, "Now you in this houſe may report in "your countries what you have ſeen and heard; "and then all men ſhall openly perceive that the "king hath not attempted this matter of will or "pleaſure, as ſome ſtrangers report, but only for "the diſcharge of his conſcience, and ſurety of "the ſucceſſion of this realm. This is the cauſe "of our report hither to you, and now we will "depart[414]."

Books on the divorce.

Still further to inform his ſubjects, and ſecure their attachment, Henry cauſed ſeveral ſmall books, on the unlawfulneſs of his marriage, to be printed, publiſhed, and diſtributed in all parts of the kingdom. The queen's party, which was not inconſiderable, imitated this example, and wrote, and circulated, ſeveral treatiſes on the other ſide of the queſtion. The divorce now appeared important and intereſting to every ſubject, and there were very few who did not engage warmly in the conteſt. The men of all ranks were in general (as we are told by a contemporary hiſtorian) on the king's ſide, and the women on the queen's[415].

The queen inflexible.

The king ſent ſeveral lords of his privy council to the queen at Greenwich, May 31ſt, to communicate to her the decrees of the univerſities, and the opinions of learned men, on the unlawfulneſs of their marriage, and to perſuade her to quiet the king's conſcience, by conſenting to the divorce. "I pray God, (ſaid ſhe,) ſend his grace a quiet "conſcience, and this ſhall be your anſwer: that

[414] Hall, f. 195, &c. [415] Ibid. Burnet, vol. i. p. 97—105.

"I ſay

"I ſay I am his lawful wife, and to him lawfully "married; and by the order of the holy church I "was to him eſpouſed as his trew wife, although "I was not ſo worthy; and by that point I will "abide, till the court of Rome, which was privy "to the beginning, have made thereof a deter- "mination and final ending [416]." The king was ſo much irritated at this anſwer, that he never ſaw the queen after. A.D. 1531.

Alliances. As Henry had been at great pains to ſatisfy his own mind, and to convine his ſubjects of the unlawfulneſs of his marriage, and the neceſſity of a divorce to prevent a diſputed ſucceſſion, he was at no leſs pains to increaſe the number and ſecure the attachment of his allies, eſpecially of thoſe who were not friendly to his two great opponents, the pope and the emperor. In particular, he cultivated the friendſhip of the king of France with the greateſt diligence, and laboured, by many good offices, to engage him warmly in his cauſe. Doctor Cranmer, the king's ambaſſador to the emperor, now in Germany, was very active in procuring the opinions of learned men for the divorce, and in conveying hints to the proteſtant princes, that they might hope for aſſiſtance from the king of England againſt the emperor [417].

A.D. 1532. The clergy humbled. As the greateſt oppoſition to the divorce in England was expected from the clergy, the king found it neceſſary to humble them, by diminiſhing both their wealth and power. The whole clergy of England were involved in a præmunire, and put

[416] Hall, f. 200. [417] Memorials of Cranmer, b. 1. ch. 3.

A. D. 1532. out of the king's protection, for ſubmitting to the legatine power of cardinal Wolſey. Thoſe of the province of Canterbury redeemed their perſons and goods this year, by paying the king 100,000 l.; and thoſe of the province of York, by paying 18,000 l. [418] In the deed by which they granted this money to the king, they were brought to acknowledge him to be the ſupreme head of the church of England, which gave him much more authority over them than he or his predeceſſors had before poſſeſſed. The laity of all ranks, who had long been fleeced and oppreſſed by their ſpiritual guides, diſcovered great ſatisfaction with theſe tranſactions; and the clergy ſeeing themſelves no longer protected by the pope, or ſupported by the people, were obliged to ſubmit. Henry not only humbled his own clergy, but he ſhewed the pope, that he had it in his power either to deprive him of all the revenues he derived from England, or to continue theſe revenues as he pleaſed. The parliament made an act, prohibiting the payment of the firſt-fruits of archbiſhoprics and biſhoprics to the pope, but gave the king a power to ſuſpend the whole or any part of that act, or to confirm it by his letters patent. This act was communicated to the court of Rome; but, as it did not produce the deſired effect, it was confirmed by letters patent the year after, July 9th [419].

Sir T. More reſigns. Sir Thomas More, lord chancellor, perceiving that things tended to a total breach with the church

[418] Burnet, p. 106—111.

[419] Ibid. Records, No. xli. Rolls of Parliament, 23 Hen. VIII.

of

of Rome, to which he was much attached, reſigned his high office May 16th; and on the fourth day after, the king delivered the great ſeal to ſir Thomas Audley, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons [420]. A. D. 1532.

The kings of England and France concluded a treaty of more intimate alliance at London June 23d, in which they ſtipulated to aſſiſt one another with a certain number of forces, in caſe the emperor made war upon either of them [421]. Still further to increaſe the mutual friendſhip of the two monarchs, a perſonal interview, between Calais and Boulogn, was propoſed and agreed upon, for which great preparations were made in both kingdoms. Francis entreated Henry to bring the lady Ann Boleyn to the interview, to which he conſented; and that ſhe might appear there with the greater dignity, he created her marchioneſs of Pembroke, and made her a grant of 1000l. a year in land September 1ſt. About the ſame time he ſent letters to many prelates, noblemen, and gentlemen, to meet him, in their beſt array, at Canterbury September 26th, to attend him to the continent; and with a numerous and ſplendid train he embarked at Dover October 11th, and landed at Calais the ſame forenoon. The two kings met in a valley near the marches October 21ſt, and proceeded to Boulogn, where Francis entertained the king and court of England in the moſt magnificent manner four days; and on the fifth the two kings, with their attendants, ſet out for Calais, where Treaty and interview.

[420] Rym. tom. xiv. p. 431.

[421] Ibid. p. 435.

A.D 1532. Henry entertained the king and court of France, with equal magnificence, the ſame number of days. At one of the diſguiſings, (as they were called,) the marchioneſs of Pembroke danced with the king of France without her maſque, and diſplayed the charms of her perſon to great advantage[422]. After the dance he entered into converſation with her, preſented her with a valuable jewel, and aſſured her that he would exert all his power and influence to accelerate the divorce, and her elevation to the throne[423]. Henry attended his royal gueſt October 30th, to the ſame place where they had met, and there they took leave of one another with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of ſincere and inviolable friendſhip. Being detained by ſtorms and contrary winds at Calais, the king and his ſuite did not land at Dover till November 14th.

Object of the interview.

The two kings had publiſhed, with great oſtentation, that the deſign of their interview was, to concert meaſures for raiſing a powerful army for a joint expedition againſt the Turks, who had invaded Hungary, and threatened Italy. In this, however, they were not believed, and certainly were not ſincere. Their real intention was to alarm the emperor and the pope, that the former might no longer oppoſe, and that the latter might be induced to grant Henry's divorce, and to give Francis permiſſion to tax his clergy, which he had refuſed. Henry, it is ſaid, endeavoured to perſuade Francis to aſſume the ſupremacy of the Gal-

[422] Hall, f. 106—110.

[423] Garnier, Hiſt. de France, tom. xxiv. p. 459—471.

lican

lican church, by which he would acquire a great acceſſion both of wealth and power; but Francis rather inclined to gain the pope than to withdraw from his obedience, and was then negotiating an interview with his holineſs, who was diſcontented with the emperor, and wiſhed to prevail upon Henry to come to that interview. In a word, the views of the two monarchs did not exactly coincide, which counteracted their friendly diſpoſitions, and rendered their meeting of little or no effect[424]. A. D. 1533.

The king of France, it is ſaid, at the interview encouraged Henry to marry the marchioneſs of Pembroke, who had been ſo long the object of his love, without delay. However that may be, it ſeems to be certain that the marriage was celebrated in great privacy ſome time in the month of November, ſoon after the return of the court from Calais. Doctor Rowland Lee officiated; the duke of Norfolk, the father, mother, and brother of the royal bride, were the only witneſſes. Though doctor Cranmer had about that time returned from Germany, and ſtood high in the king's favour, he knew nothing of this marriage till about two weeks after. If he had been conſulted, it is probable he would have adviſed to delay it till after the divorce. The ground on which Henry now proceeded to it was this, that as the moſt famous univerſities and moſt learned men in Europe had declared that his former marriage had been unlawful, null, and void from the beginning, he was as much at liberty to The king's marriage.

[424] Garnier, Hiſt. de France, tom. xxiv. p. 459—471.

A. D. 1532. marry as if he had never been married[425]. This might be ſufficient to ſatisfy his own mind, but was not ſufficient to ſtop the mouths of others, or to prevent a prodigious clamour, when the marriage was made public.

A. D. 1533. Cranmer made archbiſhop.

William Warham archbiſhop of Canterbury having died in Auguſt 1532, the king determined to raiſe doctor Cranmer to that high ſtation, and ſent his commands to him to return immediately into England. When Henry communicated his intention to him on his arrival, he earneſtly entreated to be excuſed; and in this we have good reaſon to believe he was ſincere. He had married a lady in Germany, and had brought her privately into England. He had imbibed the principles of the reformation, and had great ſcruples about taking the oath of canonical obedience to the pope; and he knew, that though Henry had quarrelled with the pope about the divorce, he was ſtill firmly attached to the tenets of popery. In a word, he foreſaw many dangers and difficulties from the imperious ſpirit of the king, and the critical ſtate of affairs. But as Henry would admit of no excuſe, he complied, and was conſecrated March 13th, by the biſhops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Aſaph[426].

Sentence of divorce.

One of Cranmer's firſt cares after his advancement to the primacy was, to put an end to the long conteſted queſtion of the divorce. With this view, he wrote a letter to the king April 11th, humbly beſeeching him to grant a commiſſion to him, as

[425] Hall, f. 209. Burnet, p. 126. [426] Burnet, p. 128.

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427 Collier, vol. ii. Records, No. xxiv.
428 Wilkin, Concil. tom. iii. p. 757—760. Rym. p. 462.
429 Burnet, p. 11. Records, No. xlvii.

A. D. 1532. marry as if he had never been married [425]. This might be ſufficient to ſatisfy his own mind, but was not ſufficient to ſtop the mouths of others, or to prevent a prodigious clamour, when the marriage was made public.

A. D. 1533. Cranmer made archbiſhop.

William Warham archbiſhop of Canterbury having died in Auguſt 1532, the king determined to raiſe doctor Cranmer to that high ſtation, and ſent his commands to him to return immediately into England. When Henry communicated his intention to him on his arrival, he earneſtly entreated to be excuſed; and in this we have good reaſon to believe he was ſincere. He had married a lady in Germany, and had brought her privately into England. He had imbibed the principles of the reformation, and had great ſcruples about taking the oath of canonical obedience to the pope; and he knew, that though Henry had quarrelled with the pope about the divorce, he was ſtill firmly attached to the tenets of popery. In a word, he foreſaw many dangers and difficulties from the imperious ſpirit of the king, and the critical ſtate of affairs. But as Henry would admit of no excuſe, he complied, and was conſecrated March 13th, by the biſhops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Aſaph [426].

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428 Wilkin, Concil. tom. iii. p. 757—760. Rym. p. 462.
429 Burnet, p. 11. Records, No. xlvii.

A. D. 1533. queen was crowned at Weſtminſter June 1ſt, with extraordinary pomp [430].

The pope reverſes the divorce.

Henry ſenſible of the boldneſs of the ſteps he had lately taken, directed his ambaſſadors every where, and particularly at the imperial court, to take all poſſible pains to vindicate him, by explaining the motives of his conduct. In thoſe courts that were little intereſted theſe explanations were well received; but the emperor anſwered dryly, "that he would conſult with his council what was "proper to be done." The news of the late tranſactions in England excited the moſt violent commotions in the court of Rome. The cardinals of the imperial party preſſed the pope to avenge the inſults that had been offered to his rights and dignity, by launching the loudeſt thunders of the church againſt the king and the primate, for preſuming to determine a cauſe that was depending before his holineſs. But the pope was reſtrained by his policy from complying with their requeſts and his own paſſions. The king of France, in order to gain the pope to his party, had propoſed a marriage between Henry duke of Orleans, his ſecond ſon, and Katharine de Medicis, niece to his holineſs. Clement, who is well known to have had the aggrandizement of his family more at heart than the honour of the holy ſee, dared not to offend Francis, by treating the king of England, his moſt powerful ally, with ſeverity, for fear of breaking off the propoſed match. The pope therefore proceeded no farther at this time, than to

[430] Hall, f. 212—217.

reverſe

reverſe the ſentence of divorce pronounced by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and to threaten the king with excommunication if he did not reſtore things to their former ſtate before September next[431]. A.D. 1533.

The king endeavoured at this time to prevail upon the former queen to ſubmit to the ſentence of divorce. With this view he ſent the lord Mountjoy to intimate the ſentence to her, and to acquaint her that ſhe was thenceforward to enjoy only the title and revenues of princeſs dowager of Wales. He was authoriſed to employ both threats and promiſes, of which he was not ſparing. In particular, he promiſed, that if ſhe complied with the king's will, her daughter would be put next in the ſucceſſion to the iſſue of the preſent queen; and if ſhe did not comply, ſhe would be excluded. But nothing could prevail. The unhappy degraded queen ſtill maintained that ſhe was the king's only lawful wife, and that ſhe would retain that character till ſhe was deprived of it by the pope, before whom the cauſe was depending. This firmneſs, which was called obſtinacy, drew ſome harſh treatment upon her, which was cruel and ungenerous[432]. Queen Catherine inflexible.

There was nothing Henry more earneſtly deſired, than to carry the king of France along with him in his quarrel with the court of Rome. He was far from being pleaſed, therefore, with the news of an intended interview between that prince and the pope. To prevent this, if poſſible, he ſent a Embaſſy.

[431] Burnet, p. 133. [432] Ibid. p. 132.

A. D. 1533. ſplendid embaſſy to Francis, conſiſting of the duke of Norfolk, lord Rochford, ſir William Pawlett, ſir Anthony Brown, and ſir Francis Bryan, who were inſtructed to diſſuade Francis from the interview, or at leaſt to prevail upon him to delay it, till the pope had done their maſter the king of England juſtice in the affair of the divorce. The ambaſſadors came up with the king and court of France on their way to Marſeilles July 1ſt, and having delivered their meſſage, Francis anſwered, That he was too far advanced to break or put off the interview, but that he would take the ſame care of their maſter's intereſts as of his own, and preſſed them to accompany him, and aſſiſt at the negotiations. Lord Rochford returned to England for inſtructions, and Henry recalled his ambaſſadors; but at the earneſt entreaty of Francis he sent the biſhop of Wincheſter, ſir John Wallop, and doctor Bonner, to Marſeilles, to be preſent at the interview [433]. With his ambaſſadors he recalled his natural ſon the duke of Richmond, who had been about a year at the court of France.

The pope made his public entry into Marſeilles with great pomp in the beginning of October, and ſoon after had the pleaſure to marry his niece, the famous Katharine de Medicis, to Henry duke of Orleans; and ſhe became the conſort of one, and the mother of three ſucceſſive kings of France. On this favourable occaſion, Francis was far from neglecting the concerns of his ally the king of England; and he at length prevailed upon the pope to

[433] Herbert, p. 168, 169.

promiſe,

promiſe, that if Henry would ſend a proxy to Rome, he would judge his cauſe in conſiſtory, from which he would exclude the cardinals of the Imperial party. But the Engliſh ambaſſadors, knowing that their maſter would not ſubmit to ſend a proxy, were not ſatisfied; and they directed doctor Bonner to procure admittance to the pope, and make the appeal he had been commiſſioned to make, under their direction. Bonner was a bold and forward man, ready to do any thing to procure promotion. With ſome difficulty he got acceſs to his holineſs November 11th; and, after a ſhort apology, briſkly told him, that he was appointed by his ſovereign, the king of England, to appeal from him to the next general council, produced the appeal, and required it to be read. The reading of this inſtrument, which was long, and contained many ſevere expreſſions, greatly irritated the pope, who could not help diſcovering his anger both by his words and geſtures. At the concluſion he told Bonner, he would conſult the conſiſtory, and would give him an anſwer next day. The anſwer was, That the appeal was illegal, and merited no regard [4]. The pope ſet out for Rome a few days after, very ill pleaſed with the great champion of the church and defender of the faith. A. D. 1533.

Francis was exceedingly chagrined at the unfortunate turn this affair had taken, and determined to make another effort to prevent a total and final breach between his two allies. With this view he immediately diſpatched John de Belkay, biſhop of A. D. 1534. The pope pronounces the king's firſt marriage good.

[4] 4 Burnet, vol. i. p. 134. vol. iii. p. 86—99. Records, No. xxiii.

Paris,

A.D. 1534. Paris, to London, to endeavour to perſuade Henry to make ſome advances towards a reconciliation with the pope. That prelate executed his commiſſion with great zeal. After ſeveral conferences he brought Henry to conſent, that if the pope would ſuperſede paſſing ſentence againſt him, he would ſuperſede withdrawing from the obedience of the holy ſee, till impartial judges had examined his cauſe. He refuſed, however, to give this propoſal in writing, till he knew that it would be accepted. Though it was now in the depth of winter, the biſhop took a journey to Rome, where he arrived before any deciſive ſtep had been taken. He laid the king's propoſal before the pope and cardinals, by whom it was accepted, on this condition, That an authentic inſtrument of it together with full powers to ſome perſon to appear and act in the king's name, ſhould be produced on or before a certain fixed day; moſt probably the 20th of March. The courier did not arrive at the appointed day. The conſiſtory met March 23d, at which the pope and twenty-ſix cardinals were preſent. The cardinals of the Imperial party complained that they had been abuſed and deceived, and inſiſted with great vehemence on proceeding immediately to pronounce a final ſentence. The biſhop of Paris pleaded earneſtly for a delay of only ſix days, in favour of a prince who had done ſo much for the church of Rome, and had waited patiently no leſs than ſix years. He repreſented, that the courier might have been retarded by contrary winds, the overflowing of rivers, or other accidents;

cidents; and aſſured them, that he would certainly arrive in a few days. The pope was irreſolute, the majority were for proceeding, and neglecting ſeveral forms which would have required three conſiſtories at leaſt, they pronounced a ſentence, declaring the marriage of king Henry and queen Catherine good and valid, and the iſſue of it legitimate. All the Imperialiſts in Rome were tranſported with joy, which they expreſſed by firing cannons, by lighting up bonfires, and crying in the ſtreets, 'The Emperor and Spain,' as if they had obtained a great victory; while the friends of France and England were overwhelmed with aſtoniſhment and deſpair. Two days after, the courier arrived with every thing that was deſired or expected. The pope and cardinals then ſaw the grievous error they had committed, which they would gladly have repaired. But it was irreparable. The ſentence had been pronounced with too much ſolemnity, and made too public, to be reverſed [135]. A. D. 1534.

There are few paſſages in our hiſtory more worthy of attention than this event. Both Henry and the pope ſincerely wiſhed for a reconciliation; all who deſired it thought it certain, and all who feared it, believed it to be unavoidable; and yet the court of Rome, whoſe intereſt was ſo deeply concerned, by one falſe precipitate ſtep rendered it impracticable. Thoſe who believe in an overruling Providence, and think the reformation of religion hath been a bleſſing to England, will grate- Reflection.

[135] Memoirrs de Bellay, tom. ii. p. 390—394. Burnet. vol. i. p. 135. vol. iii. p. 86—99.

fully

A. D. 1534

fully acknowledge its influence on this occaſion. This great revolution was brought about by thoſe who were its greateſt enemies.

Separation of England from Rome.

Though Henry had entertained hopes of a reconciliation with the court of Rome, and was both ſurpriſed and enraged at the ſentence pronounced againſt him, he was not unprepared for this unexpected rupture. He had very wiſely carried the parliament, the convocation, and the great body of his ſubjects along with him in every ſtep he had taken in his conteſt with the court of Rome, and they were all now ripe for a total breach with that court. In a ſeſſion of parliament that commenced January 15th, A. D. 1534, ſeveral acts were made, which greatly diminiſhed, or rather quite annihilated, the power and revenues of the pope in England. The act againſt paying firſt-fruits to the pope was confirmed, with great additions, regulating how archbiſhops and biſhops were to be choſen and conſecrated, without making any application to, or receiving any bulls from Rome [436]. By another act, all appeals to Rome were prohibited [437]. By a third, the payment of Peter-pence, and all payments to the apoſtolic chamber for diſpenſations and other writings, were diſcharged [438]. By theſe laws, great ſums of money were annually loſt to Rome and ſaved to England, and the Engliſh were delivered from much vexation and trouble, as well as expence, in proſecuting their cauſes in a foreign court, and in procuring from thence diſ-

436 Statutes, 25 Hen. VIII. c. 20.
437 Ibid. c. 19.
438 Ibid. c. 21.

penſations,

penſations, pardons, and a prodigious variety of other writings. In the ſame ſeſſion of parliament an act was made, confirming the king's divorce from queen Catherine, and his marriage with queen Anne, and ſettling the ſucceſſion to the crown on his iſſue male by his preſent, or any future queen; and failing them, on the princeſs Elizabeth, (of whom queen Anne had been delivered September 7th, A. D. 1533,) who about twenty-five years after mounted the throne of England [439]. In the next ſeſſion of this parliament, which commenced November 3d, the ſupremacy of the church of England, with all its rights and emoluments, were annexed to the crown, which completed the ſeparation of the kingdom of England from the church and court of Rome [440]. A ſeparation which hath been of unſpeakable advantage to the former, and of no inconſiderable loſs to the latter. By another act, the parliament granted the king and his ſucceſſors, as ſupreme heads of the church, not only the firſt-fruits that had been formerly paid to the pope, but alſo a tenth of the annual revenue of all eccleſiaſtical benefices, both regular and ſecular [441]. A.D. 1534.

In that ſeſſion of this parliament which met in January, that famous impoſtor commonly called the Holy Maid of Kent, who had made a mighty noiſe by her pretended revelations for two years paſt, was found guilty of high treaſon, with ſix of her accomplices. This young woman, whoſe name Maid of Kent.

[439] Statutes, 25 Hen. VIII. c. 22. [440] Ibid. 26 Hen. VIII. c. 1.
[441] Ibid. c. 2.

was

A. D. 1534. was Elizabeth Barton, was ſubject to hyſterical fits; in which ſhe uttered many ſtrange incoherent expreſſions. Richard Maſters, parſon of the pariſh of Aldington, in which ſhe lived, taught her to counterfeit trances, and inſtructed her what to ſay in theſe trances, and to affirm that theſe things were revealed to her by the Holy Ghoſt. Her pretended prophecies were publiſhed by Maſters, doctor Bocking a canon of Canterbury, and others, who were admitted into the plot, and by ſuch as were deceived. One Deering, a monk, publiſhed a book of her revelations and prophecies, which all tended to exalt the power of the pope and clergy, and to denounce the vengeance of Heaven on all who diſobeyed them. In particular, ſhe declared, that if the king divorced queen Catherine and married another wife, he ſhould not be king a month longer, but ſhould die a villain's death. The monks and ſome of the ſecular clergy made the pulpits ring with theſe dangerous predictions, which made the king to command Barton, Bocking, Maſters, Deering, and other ſix of her moſt active accomplices, to be ſeized. They were examined in the Star-chamber, confeſſed the whole plot, and were ordered to read their confeſſions the next Sunday at Paul's Croſs immediately after ſermon. They were then committed to the Tower, where they were tampered with to deny their former confeſſions. This induced the king to lay the affair before his parliament, and Barton, with ſix of the chief conſpirators, were attainted of high treaſon, and ſoon after executed. Fiſher,

biſhop of Rocheſter, with five others, were found guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon, their perſons impriſoned, and their goods confiſcated. Sir Thomas More was in danger of the ſame fate, but was preſerved from being accuſed, by the influence of archbiſhop Cranmer and ſecretary Cromwell [442]. The diſcovery of this infamous attempt to impoſe upon the nation, brought a great load of odium upon the monks, by whom it had been contrived and abetted, and made them meet with leſs pity in the diſtreſs in which they were ſoon after involved. A. D. 1534.

To ſecure the ſubmiſſion of all the people to the act of ſucceſſion, all the members of both houſes took an oath, on the laſt day of the ſeſſion March 30th, "that they ſhall truly, firmly, and "conſtantly, without fraud or guile, obſerve, fulfil "maintain, defend, and keep, to their cunning, "wit, and uttermoſt of their powers, the whole "effects and contents of this preſent act [443]." A ſchedule containing the ſubſcriptions of all the members was annexed to the act, and all the ſubjects of lawful age were appointed to take a ſimilar oath when required, and all who refuſed to take it were to be deemed guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon. Commiſſioners were immediately appointed to adminiſter this oath in all parts of the kingdom, and it was generally taken, both by the clergy and laity; though by many of the former with much reluctance [444]. But two perſons of great

[442] Burnet, p. 149—154.
[443] 24 Hen. VIII. c. 22.
[444] Rym. tom. xiv. p. 487—528.

reputa-

A.D. 1534. Fiſher and More imprifoned.

reputation for their piety, virtue, and learning, biſhop Fiſher and ſir Thomas More, refuſed to take it; and, as it was apprehended that their example would influence others, great endeavours were uſed to overcome their ſcruples. They were not unwilling to take that part of the oath which related to the ſucceſſion, but refuſed to take the other part of it, which expreſſed an approbation of the king's divorce, and ſecond marriage; and perſiſting in this refuſal, they were both committed to the Tower of London in April, and very harſhly treated in their confinement [445]. In that ſeſſion of parliament which began on November 3d, they were not only excepted in an act of grace that then paſſed, but were attainted of miſpriſion of treaſon, and all their eſtates, rents, and goods confiſcated [446]. The humane archbiſhop Cranmer, after he had laboured earneſtly to bring theſe two eminent perſons to comply and take the oath, laboured with no leſs earneſtneſs to ſave them from theſe ſufferings, but in vain. The king determined to cruſh all oppoſition [447].

Laws.

By one act of the ſeſſion of parliament in November, the papal power was totally aboliſhed, the king's title of ſupreme head on earth of the church of England was recognized and annexed to the crown, and it was declared, "that the king, "his heirs and ſucceſſors, ſhall have full power "and authority, from time to time, to viſit, re- "preſs, redreſs, reform, order, correct, reſtrain,

445 Burnet, vol. i. p. 155, 156. 446 Rolls of Parliament, 26 Hen. VIII. 447 Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, p. 28.

"and

" and amend, all ſuch errors, hereſies, abuſes, A. D. 1534.
" offences, contempts, and enormities, whatſoever
" they be, which by any manner of ſpiritual juriſ-
" diction or authority ought or may lawfully be
" reformed," &c.[449] By another act it was declared to be high treaſon to deny or diſpute any of the king's dignities or titles[449]. This law was deſigned to ſecure the king's new title of ſupreme head of the church, and to puniſh ſuch as dared to impugn it; and it was ſoon applied to that purpoſe. By the laſt act of this ſeſſion, the parliament granted the king a tenth and fifteenth, to be paid in three years[450].

Henry aſſumed the new title of ſupreme head on earth of the church of England in great ſtate, in the preſence of his whole court, January 15th, A. D. 1535, and commanded that it ſhould be added to his other titles in all courts, deeds, and writings[451]. This was far from being an empty title, but brought him a great acceſſion both of power and revenue, and he availed himſelf of it to its utmoſt extent, and maintained it with ſo much jealouſy, that he ſpared none who called it in queſtion. A. D. 1535. New title.

Biſhop Fiſher and ſir Thomas More were ſtill priſoners in the Tower, in conſequence of their having been attainted of miſpriſion of treaſon. The king was irritated againſt them for their oppoſition to his divorce and ſecond marriage, and for their correſpondence with the maid of Kent. Fiſher and More beheaded.

[448] 26 Hen. VIII. c. 1.
[449] Ibid. c. 13.
[450] Rolls, 26 Hen. VIII.
[451] Rym. tom. xiv. p. 549.

A. D. 1535. He knew their attachment to the ſee of Rome, and that all his ſubjects who were zealous for the continuance of the papal power, had fixed their eyes upon them as patterns proper for their imitation. He determined therefore to make them acknowledge his ſupremacy, or to make them ſuffer, that none who oppoſed it might expect impunity. The two priſoners, ſenſible of their danger, declined giving any opinion of the king's ſupremacy, and avoided as much as poſſible all converſation on that ſubject. But it was often introduced by thoſe who viſited them with a deſign to diſcover their ſentiments; and in ſpite of all their caution, they ſometimes dropped expreſſions, which ſufficiently indicated their diſapprobation of the ſupremacy. Theſe expreſſions were carefully remembered, and produced in evidence againſt them. Richard Rich, the king's ſolicitor, is ſaid to have uſed very infamous arts to betray them into a diſcovery of their ſentiments, and afterwards became the principal witneſs againſt them on their trial. Pope Pius III. who ſucceeded Clement VII. knowing that biſhop Fiſher's ſufferings were owing to his attachment to the ſee of Rome, in order to reward his zeal, and encourage him to perſeverance, created him a cardinal; imagining that Henry would not dare to proceed to extremity againſt a member of the ſacred college. But in this infallibility he was miſtaken. The biſhop was brought to his trial June 17th, and being found guilty of high treaſon for denying the king's ſupremacy, he was beheaded the 22d of June, in the eightieth year of his age.

Ten

Ten days after, his friend ſir Thomas More was tried for the ſame offence, and being found guilty, was beheaded July 6th, in his fifty-third year. His pleaſant facetious humour did not forſake him in his laſt moments: "Aſſiſt me," ſaid he to a friend when he was mounting the ſcaffold, "and "let me ſhift for myſelf to get down." The executioner aſking his forgiveneſs, he granted it, and told him with a ſmile, "You will get no credit "by beheading me, my neck is ſo ſhort." After he had laid his head upon the block, he called to the executioner to ſtop a little till he put his beard aſide, "for that," ſaid he, "hath committed no "treaſon [452]." Theſe two illuſtrious ſufferers would have been more generally lamented, if they had not been ſuch cruel perſecutors when they were in power. Sir Thomas More, in particular, abandoned the juſt and liberal ideas of toleration he had publiſhed in his Utopia, and became ardent in the purſuit, and unrelenting in the puniſhment of heretics, as the favourers of the reformation were then called. But ſuch, at the ſame time, was his fondneſs for wit, that on ſome occaſions it overpowered his perſecuting zeal. A heretic, named Silver, being brought before him, he ſaid, "Silver, "you muſt be tried by fire." "Yes," replied the priſoner; "but you know, my lord, that quick-"ſilver cannot abide the fire." He was ſo pleaſed with this repartee, (which in theſe circumſtances diſcovered great preſence of mind,) that he ſet the man at liberty [453]. A. D. 1535.

452 Burnet, vol. i. p. 354, &c. Strype's Memor. vol. i. p 200.
453 Ibid.

A. D. 1535. The pope displeased.

The news of cardinal Fiſher's execution excited a prodigious flame in Rome, and all the ill names recorded in hiſtory were beſtowed on Henry. The pope was ſo much enraged, that he ordered a great number of bulls to be prepared againſt him: by one, he and all his accomplices were to be ſummoned to appear at Rome in ninety days, to anſwer for their conduct; by another, the king and all his miniſters were excommunicated; by a third, his ſubjects were abſolved from their oaths of allegiance; by another, the kingdom was laid under an interdict, &c. [454] But finding no catholic prince, at that time, who had leiſure, inclination, and power to render theſe bulls effectual, by dethroning the excommunicated king, and ſeizing his dominions, he prudently ſuppreſſed them.

The king's precautions.

Henry having received intelligence of the pope's reſentment and deſigns, took the moſt prudent precautions to prevent their ſucceſs. He inſtructed his ambaſſadors in the courts of France, Germany, and Scotland, how to vindicate his conduct, in withdrawing his obedience to the ſee of Rome, in aſſuming the ſupremacy of the church in his own dominions, and in puniſhing thoſe who refuſed to acknowledge his ſupremacy, particularly ſir Thomas More and biſhop Fiſher, for whoſe execution he was moſt ſeverely cenſured [455]. To encourage and ſtrengthen the enemies of the emperor, his moſt formidable adverſary, he ſent ambaſſadors, in conjunction with thoſe of France, to negotiate an alliance with the proteſtant princes of Germany. But the cruel perſecution of thoſe who had em-

[454] Herbert, p. 184. [455] Strype's Memorials, b. i. chap. xxxii.

braced

braced the principles of the reformation both in France and England, retarded theſe negotiations. To ſecure the internal tranquillity of his dominions, and the ſubmiſſion of his own ſubjects, he employed various means. All the biſhops were ſtrictly enjoined to preach againſt the uſurped authority of the biſhop of Rome, and in favour of the king's ſupremacy, and to command all their clergy to preach in the ſame ſtrain. The juſtices of the peace in every county were directed to keep a ſtrict eye upon the clergy, and to dilate all thoſe who neglected to obey theſe injunctions, or did it in a ſlight illuſory manner. Several treatiſes on the ſame ſubject were publiſhed with the ſame view [456]. That the great acceſſion of power which the king had acquired over the clergy, both ſeculars and regulars, by his being declared ſupreme head of the church, might be exerciſed in the moſt effectual manner, he delegated it to his moſt active and able miniſter Thomas Cromwell, ſecretary of ſtate, firſt with the title of vicar-general, and afterwards with the higher title of lord vicegerent in eccleſiaſtical matters [457]. In conſequence of this commiſſion, Cromwell, in a ſhort time, and with leſs difficulty than could have been imagined, diſſolved all the numerous orders of monks and friars in England, who were the moſt zealous partiſans of the pope, the moſt determined enemies of the king's ſupremacy, and of all reformation. Of this great atchievement a more particular account will be given in the ſecond chapter of this book. A. D. 1535.

[456] Strype's Memorials, b. i. cap. xxxvi. [457] Burnet, p. 181.

A. D. 1535. A. D. 1536. Death of queen Catherine.

Catherine, the divorced queen, after languiſhing ſome time, died at Kimbolton January 8th, A. D. 1536, in the fiftieth year of her age. A few days before her death, ſhe ſent the following letter to the king, written by one of her female attendants:

"My moſt dear lord, king, and huſband,

"The hour of my death now approaching, I "cannot chuſe, out of the love I bear you, but "adviſe you of your ſoul's health, which you ought "to prefer before all conſiderations of the world "or fleſh whatſoever; for which you have caſt "me into many calamities, and yourſelf into many "troubles. But I forgive you all, and pray God "to do ſo likewiſe. For the reſt, I commend "unto you Mary our daughter; beſeeching you "to be a good father to her, as I have heretofore "deſired. I muſt intreat you alſo to reſpect my "maids, and give them in marriage, which is not "much, they being but three; and to all my other "ſervants a year's pay, beſide their due; leſt otherwiſe they ſhould be unprovided for. Laſtly, I "make this vow, that mine eyes deſire you above "all things. Farewel [458]."

Henry, it is ſaid, felt ſome compunction when he peruſed this letter. He took no little care, however, to get poſſeſſion of her jewels and other effects, which were valued at no more than 5000 marks; and he paid little or no regard to her laſt will and teſtament [459]. He had treated her rather

[458] Herbert, p. 188.

[459] Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 240—243. Records, No lxix, lxx, lxxi.

harſhly

harſhly after her divorce; and his ſorrow for her death, it is probable, was neither very violent nor very laſting. If that event had happened a few years ſooner, it would have given joy both at the court of Rome and the court of England, and would have prevented the rupture between them. Pope Clement often wiſhed her in her grave. A. D. 1536.

The emperor Charles V. earneſtly deſired to diſſolve that intimate union which now ſubſiſted between the kings of France and England: and as the oſtenſible ground of his quarrel with the laſt of theſe princes was removed by the death of his aunt, queen Catherine, he thought this a proper opportunity to make advances towards a reconciliation. He cauſed his reſident, therefore, at the court of England, to ſuggeſt to the Engliſh miniſters, that his maſter was not averſe to a reconciliation, upon the conditions, "that the king "would be reconciled to the pope; that he would "aid the emperor againſt the Turk; and that, "agreeably to the treaty 1518, he would aſſiſt "him againſt the French, who threatened Milan." To this it was anſwered, "That the firſt breach "of amity proceeded from the emperor; which "if he will acknowledge and excuſe, the king is "contented to renew it ſimply. As to the con-"ditions propoſed: Firſt, The proceedings againſt "the biſhop of Rome have been ſo juſt, and ſo "ratified by the parliament of England, that they "cannot be revoked. Secondly, As for aid againſt "the Turk, when Chriſtian princes ſhall be at "peace, the king will do therein as to a Chriſtian Negotiation.

A. D. 1536. "prince belongeth. Thirdly, For aid againſt "France, he cannot reſolve on that till the amity "be renewed with the emperor; that ſo being an "indifferent friend to both, he may freely travel, "either to keep peace between them, or to aid "the injured party [460]." This very ſenſible and ſpirited anſwer (probably ſuggeſted by ſecretary Cromwell) plainly proves that Henry had now reſolved againſt a reconciliation with the court of Rome, and determined to preſerve that complete ſovereignty over all his ſubjects which he had obtained.

Parliament. The laſt ſeſſion of that long parliament which was firſt aſſembled November 3d, A. D. 1529, met at Weſtminſter February 4th this year, and made ſeveral important acts. By one act, the parliament diſſolved all the ſmall monaſteries and nunneries in the kingdom, which had not each above 200l. a-year of clear income, and gave all their churches, houſes, lands, plate, furniture, and goods of all kinds, to the king. The number of monaſteries diſſolved by this act was three hundred and ſeventy-ſix; the yearly rent of their lands was about 32,000l. which was much below their real value; and their cattle, plate, and furniture, at a very low valuation, amounted to 100,000l. [461] By another act, Wales was more intimately united to England, and its inhabitants ſubjected to the Engliſh laws, or rather admitted at their own requeſt to the privilege of being governed by them [462].

460 Herbert, p. 188. 461 Statutes, 27 Hen. VIII. Parl. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 117. 462 Herbert, p. 190.

The

The negotiations with the proteſtant princes of the Smalkaldic league in Germany ſtill continued; and about this time theſe princes preſented the following propoſitions to the Engliſh negotiators: 1. That the king ſhould embrace the Auguſtan confeſſion of faith, altered in ſome things by common conſent, and defend it with them in a free council, if it ſhould be called. 2. That neither party ſhould conſent to a council without the other. 3. That the king ſhould join their league, and become its head and defender. 4. That the vulgar opinion of the pope's ſupremacy ſhould be rejected for ever. 5. That if any of the contracting parties ſhould be invaded for religion, the others ſhould give no aid againſt him. 6. That the king ſhould give 100,000 crowns for the defence of the league, and 200,000 if the war continued long. To theſe propoſitions this anſwer was returned: That the king approved of them in general with ſome amendments; that he accepted of the title of head and defender of the league, and would advance the money required, as ſoon as all the conditions were ſettled. He deſired them to ſend commiſſioners to treat of theſe conditions, and ſome of their learned men to confer with his divines on the doctrines and ceremonies of the church [463]. But when things were in this train, a ſurpriſing and unexpected event happened, which put a ſtop to theſe negotiations, and greatly diſcouraged all the promoters of reformation both at home and abroad. A.D. 1536. Negotiations.

[463] Herbert, p. 192.

Henry

A. D. 1536.

The queen ſent to the Tower.

Henry was a prince of ſtrong impetuous paſſions, but at the ſame time fickle and capricious, paſſing ſuddenly from one extreme to another, from the warmeſt love to the moſt violent hatred, and he ſtuck at nothing to gratify the prevailing paſſion. He had ſurmounted many difficulties to obtain the hand of his beloved Anne Boleyn, and had lived with her in great conjugal felicity from the marriage till about the beginning of this year, when he was captivated by the charms of a young beauty of his court, Jane Seymour, daughter of ſir John Seymour of Wolf-hall in Wiltſhire. This new paſſion extinguiſhed all his former love to his queen, which was ſucceeded by the moſt furious jealouſy. The courtiers ſoon diſcovered this change in the king's affections, which gave great pleaſure to the partiſans of the pope, and no leſs pain to the friends of reformation, of which queen Anne was a zealous promoter. The queen herſelf was not ignorant of the king's paſſion for Jane Seymour, who was one of her maids of honour; but ſhe was altogether ignorant of his jealouſy of her own conduct, till it broke upon her like a clap of thunder. On the firſt day of May there was a grand tournament at Greenwich, at which the king, queen, and all the court were preſent. In the midſt of the diverſion the king roſe ſuddenly from his ſeat, went out, mounted his horſe, and rode off, with only ſix perſons in his company. This abrupt departure of the king excited univerſal ſurpriſe; but whether it was premeditated,

meditated, or occaſioned by any incident that then happened, is uncertain. It is indeed related, that the queen dropped her handkerchief, and that it was taken up by one of the gentlemen of the tournament, which inflamed the king's jealouſy. A.D. 1536.

"Trifles light as air,
"Are to the jealous, confirmation ſtrong,
"As proofs of holy writ."

However that may be, the lord Rochford, the queen's brother, three gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber, Norris, Weſton, and Brereton, and Smeton a muſician, were arreſted early next morning and ſent to the Tower. At the ſame time the queen was confined to her chamber. When ſhe was informed of the cauſe of her confinement, ſhe made the moſt ſolemn proteſtations of her innocence, and earneſtly intreated to be permitted to ſee the king. But that was not granted. In the afternoon of the ſame day ſhe was conducted to the Tower, by her uncle the duke of Norfolk, who was one of her greateſt enemies on account of religion. When ſhe entered that priſon ſhe fell on her knees, and prayed that God might ſo help her, as ſhe was innocent of the crime for which ſhe was impriſoned [464].

The unhappy queen, who on the day before had been attended by a ſpendid and obſequious court, and now found herſelf forſaken by all the world, ſhut up in the ſolitude of a priſon, accuſed Her behaviour.

[464] Hall, f. 227. Stowe, p. 572. Herbert, p. 194. Burnet, vol. i. p. 196, &c.

of

A.D. 1536. of a heinous crime, and threatened with a violent death, was ſo much affected by this great reverſe of fortune, that ſhe fell into hyſterical paroxiſms, which weakened both her mind and body. When ſhe was in this deplorable ſituation, ſeized with alternate fits of weeping and laughing, very inſidious arts were uſed to betray her into a confeſſion of her guilt. She was aſſured that her brother, and the other gentlemen confined on her account, had confeſſed, and told that a free and full confeſſion was the only thing that could appeaſe the king's anger and ſave her life. Naturally frank and ingenuous, and having no friend to put her upon her guard, ſhe diſcovered all the indiſcretions ſhe could recollect, which amounted only to certain levities in her behaviour and words, which were imprudent indeed, and unbecoming the dignity to which ſhe was advanced, but very remote from the crime of which ſhe was accuſed. All theſe diſcoveries were carried to the king, and ſerved only to increaſe his ſuſpicions and inflame his wrath [465]. When ſhe had recovered a little from her firſt conſternation, and attained to ſome compoſure of mind, ſhe wrote a moſt moving letter to the king, which, for the force and juſtice of the expoſtulations it contains, and even for the elegance of its language, it is truly admirable [466].

[465] Burnett, vol. i. p. 197—199.

[466] The reader will find a copy of this letter in the appendix. It muſt be confeſſed that the authenticity of this letter is not abſolutely aſcertained, as the original is not preſerved. But a copy of it, it is ſaid, was found among ſecretary Cromwell's papers. Herbert, p. 191.

But

But nothing could make any impreſſion in her favour, on the cruel and obdurate heart of Henry. A. D. 1536.

Means uſed to procure evidence.

Great efforts were uſed to prevail upon the gentlemen who were impriſoned on the queen's account, to confeſs their guilt and hers. Henry Norris, groom of the ſtole, had been long about the king's perſon, and poſſeſſed a conſiderable degree of his eſteem and favour. Henry ſent for him, and promiſed him his life, liberty, and fortune, if he would confeſs his own guilt, and that of the queen. Norris, who was a gentleman of ſpirit and honour, rejected the propoſal with diſdain, declaring his own innocence, and his full conviction that the queen was an innocent and good woman, and that he would ſuffer a thouſand deaths rather than accuſe an innocent perſon. Mark Smeton, the muſician, had not the ſame fortitude. Upon a promiſe of life, (which was not performed,) he confeſſed that he had been guilty with the queen at three different times. A confeſſion that was very improbable, and which few or none believed [467].

Her hard treatment.

Such was the unfeeling ſeverity of Henry to his unhappy queen, that he excluded all her relations and friends from ſeeing her in her confinement, and placed none about her but her open or ſecret enemies This was a circumſtance which diſtreſſed her greatly, and of which ſhe complained bitterly She often inquired for her father and mother and other near relations, but received no ſatisfactory anſwer. She earneſtly entreated that

[467] Burnet, vol. iii. p. 118.

A.D. 1536. her almoner might be permitted to viſit her only for an hour, and it was denied. Though many loved and pitied her, yet ſo well was the ſtern and furious ſpirit of the king known, that none dared to open a mouth, or offer a petition, in her favour. Henry ſeems to have apprehended an application of that kind from archbiſhop Cranmer; and therefore ſent him an order to remain at Lambeth, and not approach the court till his preſence was required. The good archbiſhop, however, adventured to write the king a letter, in which he did not indeed aſſert the queen's innocence, (which would probably have coſt him his head,) but ſuggeſted ſeveral things that made it appear very wonderful that ſhe was guilty[468]. He would, no doubt, have written in much ſtronger terms, but he well knew it would have only inflamed the king's rage, and ruined himſelf, without ſaving the queen.

Trials and executions. The Lord Rochford and the other four priſoners were firſt tried, May 12th, in Weſtminſter-hall, and were all found guilty on little or no evidence: for ſuch was the terror the irreſiſtible authority and vindictive ſpirit of the king had univerſally inſpired, that no jury dared to acquit a priſoner he deſired to ſee condemned. The only thing proved againſt lord Rochford was, that one morning he had come into the queen his ſiſter's bedchamber before ſhe was up, and in ſpeaking to her, in preſence of her maids, had laid his hand upon the bed. This was interpreted by the court to be a ſlander-

[468] Burnet, vol. i. p. 200. Strype's Mem. vol. i. p. 280, &c.

ing

ing of the queen, which by a late act had been declared high treaſon. A cruel ſtretch of a moſt cruel ſtatute! Rochford, Weſton, Brereton, and Norris were beheaded. At their death they all vindicated their own and the queen's innocence. Smeton was hanged, and at his execution he had acknowledged he deſerved his death; meaning, moſt probably, for his falſe accuſation of the queen, by his confeſſing a crime of which he was not guilty [469]. A.D. 1536.

The queen was brought to her trial May 13th, in the king's hall in the Tower. Her own unnatural uncle the duke of Norfolk (whoſe zeal for popery had made him one of her greateſt enemies) preſided as lord high ſteward, and was attended by twenty-five other lords; ſo that one half of the peers of England, then fifty-three, were not preſent at this extraordinary trial. The queen was brought into the court, attended only by a few women who had been placed about her, having been denied an advocate. She made a curtſey to her judges, and behaved with great dignity and compoſure. Her indictment was then read: charging her "with having procured her brother "and the other four to lie with her, which they "had done often; which was to the ſlander of "the iſſue begotten between the king and her." To this it was added, but not attempted to be proved, "that ſhe had conſpired the king's "death." She pleaded Not guilty. All the evidence that was produced to prove this dreadful, The queen's trial.

[469] Burnet, vol. i. p. 201. vol. iii. p. 119.

and

A.D. 1536. and very improbable indictment, was a declaration of a lady Wingfield, who was in her grave, ſaid to have been made by her a little before her death. How this declaration, or affidavit, was authenticated, we are not informed. On this evidence, if evidence it can be called, was the amiable, the lately admired and beloved queen of England, found guilty of high treaſon by the peers of the realm, and ſentenced to be either burnt or beheaded as the king ſhould direct. When ſhe heard this terrible ſentence pronounced, ſhe lifted up her eyes and hands to heaven, and ſaid, "O "Father! O Creator! thou who art the way, the "truth, and the life, thou knoweſt that I have not "deſerved this death!" Then turning to her judges, ſhe ſaid, "My lords, I will not ſay that "your ſentence is unjuſt; nor preſume that my "opinion ſhould be preferred to the judgment of "you all. I believe you have reaſons and oc-"caſions of ſuſpicion and jealouſy; but they muſt "be other than thoſe that have been produced "here in court; for I am entirely innocent of "all theſe accuſations; ſo that I cannot aſk pardon "of God for them. I have been always a faith-"ful and loving wife to the king." After ſhe had ſaid this, and much more, in vindication of her own innocence, ſhe expreſſed great concern for the condemnation of her brother and the other gentlemen, and wiſhed that her death might ſuffice for the whole. She then took her leave of the court, and retired. The lord mayor and aldermen of London, and ſome others who had been admitted

to

to be ſpectators of this trial, went away with a full conviction of the queen's innocence [470]. A.D. 1536.

The queen divorced.

This unhappy princeſs had ſtill another trial to undergo. Henry, not contented with her blood, determined to deprive her of the honour of having been his lawful wife, and to illegitimate her infant daughter. He knew that the earl of Northumberland had courted her, and endeavours were uſed to perſuade that nobleman to acknowledge a pre-contract and promiſe of marriage. But the earl acted an honourable part, and ſwore before the two archbiſhops, and took the ſacrament upon it, that there never had been any contract or promiſe of marriage between him and Anne Boleyn [471]. But the queen herſelf was prevailed upon, moſt probably to eſcape the flames, to acknowledge before archbiſhop Cranmer, May 17th, that there was a lawful impediment to her marriage with the king; upon which a ſentence of divorce was pronounced, and her marriage declared to have been unlawful, null, and void from the beginning [472]. If any regard had been paid to juſtice or law, this ſentence would have ſaved the queen's life: for if ſhe had never been the king's lawful wife, ſhe could not have been guilty of high treaſon by having intercourſe with other men; and that was the crime for which ſhe was condemned to die. But Henry, on this occaſion, not only ſacrificed the life of his

[470] Burnet, vol. i. p. 201. vol. iii. p. 119. [471] Herbert, p. 195.
[472] Collier, vol. ii. p. 117. Burnet, vol. i. p. 285.

A.D. 1536. queen, and the legitimacy of his child, but trampled upon all law and juſtice, to gratify his paſſions.

The queen beheaded.

Little time was allowed the unhappy queen to prepare for the laſt ſcene of this cruel tragedy. In that awful interval ſhe retained her uſual ſerenity, and even cheerfulneſs, and ſpent ſeveral hours of the day in private devotion, or with her almoner, who was then admitted. She recollected with much concern her unkindneſs to the princeſs Mary, fell upon her knees to lady Kingſton, and refuſed to riſe till ſhe had promiſed to wait on that princeſs, and aſk her pardon [473]. On the morning of her execution, May 19, ſhe converſed compoſedly with ſir William Kingſton, lieutenant of the Tower, and expreſſed ſome impatience for the fatal moment. "I ſuppoſe (ſays ſir William, in "a letter to Cromwell) ſhe will declare herſelf to "be a good woman, for all men but for the king, "at the hour of her death. For this morning ſhe "ſent for me, that I might be with her at ſuch "time as ſhe received the good Lord, to the in-"tent I ſhould hear her ſpeak as touching her in-"nocency alway to be clear. I have ſeen many "men, alſo women, executed, and they have "been in great ſorrow, and to my knowledge this "lady hath much joy and pleaſure in death [474]." About eleven o'clock ſhe was brought to a ſcaffold erected on the green in the Tower. By order all ſtrangers had been turned out of the Tower, and there were none preſent but the dukes of Suffolk

[473] Burnet, vol. i. p. 204. [474] Herbert, p. 195.

and

and Richmond, (the king's natural ſon,) chancellor Audley, ſecretary Cromwell, and the mayor, aldermen, and ſheriffs of London. When ſhe mounted the ſcaffold, her looks were cheerful, and ſhe never appeared more beautiful. Obſerving ſome about her weeping, ſhe ſaid, "Be "not ſorry to ſee me die thus, but pardon me "from your hearts, that I have not expreſſed to "all about me that mildneſs that became me, and "that I have not done all the good that was in "my power to do [475]." Then turning to the ſpectators, ſhe ſaid, "I am come here to die, "and not to accuſe any man, nor to ſpeak any "thing of that whereof I am accuſed. I pray "God ſave the king, and ſend him long to reign "over you, for a gentler and more merciful "prince was there never; and to me he was ever "a good, a gentle, and ſovereign lord. If any "perſon will meddle in my cauſe, I require them "to judge the beſt [476]." Her maternal tenderneſs for her daughter, it is probable, induced her to ſpeak in this ſtrain; and as this is the ſpeech that was publiſhed by government, we have reaſon to ſuſpect that ſome things were omitted, and that the encomium upon the king was heightened. However that may be, it is agreed on all hands, that after a very ſhort ſpeech, and ſome pious ejaculations, her head was cut off at one blow with a ſword, by the executioner of Calais, who had been brought over for that purpoſe. Little A. D. 1536.

[475] Burnet, vol. iii. p. 120. [476] Hall, f. 228.

A. D. 1536. regard was paid to her remains, and not ſo much as a coffin provided. Her body was put into a cheſt made for holding arrows, and inſtantly buried in the chapel in the Tower [477].

Her character. Thus periſhed Anne Boleyn, whoſe beauty raiſed her to a throne, from which the charms of another lady threw her down, and brought her prematurely to her grave. She was naturally gay and ſprightly, and her education in the court of France confirmed that natural diſpoſition. While Henry viewed her with a lover's eyes, her frankneſs and gaiety were agreeable; but when he had ſet his affections on another object, they appeared in a very different light. Her elevation had excited envy, her zeal for the reformation had created her many powerful enemies, ſome of them her own near relations. When theſe enemies perceived that the king's affections were alienated from her, they induſtriouſly informed him of every imprudent action and ungarded expreſſion into which her natural gaiety had betrayed her, which inflamed his jealouſy into rage, and made him determine her deſtruction. In a word, if Henry had never contracted a criminal paſſion for Jane Seymour, we never ſhould have heard of the indiſcretions, much leſs of the crimes, of queen Anne Boleyn. Nothing but her beauties and virtues, her piety, humility, and charity, would have been recorded [478].

[477] Burnet, vol. i. p. 205.

[478] In the laſt nine months of her life ſhe diſtributed 14,000l. to the poor. Burnet, vol. i. p. 194.

It

It might have been imagined, that Henry would have been greatly affected by the cruel fate of one who had long been the object of his fondeſt affections; or that a regard to decency would have made him appear, at leaſt, to lament her ſufferings. But that was not the caſe. He wore white as mourning for her one day, and on the next he married her rival Jane Seymour, and in a few days after, at Whitſuntide, preſented her to his whole court as his royal conſort [479]. The cleareſt indication that could be given of the cauſe of his late queen's calamities, and of the power of his own ungovernable paſſions. A.D. 1536. The king's marriage.

The princeſs Mary and her friends, thinking this a proper time to attempt a reconciliation with her father, ſhe wrote him a very humble and ſubmiſſive letter, earneſtly praying to be admitted into his preſence, and received into his favour, which ſhe at length obtained, but on very hard conditions. She was obliged to write and ſubſcribe a paper, which, among others, contained the two following articles: "*Item*, I acknowledge the "king's highneſs to be ſupreme head in earth "under Chriſt of the church of England, and do "utterly refuſe the biſhop of Rome's pretended "authority, power, and juriſdiction, within this "realm, heretofore uſurped. I do alſo utterly "renounce and forſake all manner of remedy, in-"tereſt, and advantage, which I may by any "means claim by the biſhop of Rome's laws, "proceſs, juriſdiction, or ſentence. *Item*, I do Princeſs Mary reconciled.

[479] Hall, f. 228.

A.D. 1536. "freely, frankly, and for the diſcharge of my duty "towards God, the king's highneſs and his laws, "without other reſpect, recognize and acknow- "ledge, that the marriage heretofore had between "his majeſty and my mother, the late princeſs "dowager, was, by God's law and man's law in- "ceſtuous and unlawful[480]." It was with much reluctance, and after a long ſtruggle, that ſhe was brought to make theſe acknowledgments in this authentic manner. But as nothing leſs would ſatisfy, ſhe at laſt complied.

Parliament. A new parliament met at Weſtminſter, June 8th, and was opened with a ſpeech by the lord chancellor Audley, full of the groſſeſt flattery. After repreſenting, in ſtrong terms, how unhappy the king (who was preſent) had been in his two former mariages, which (ſaid he) would have deterred any other man from engaging again in matrimony; "this our moſt excellent prince, on "the humble petition of the nobility, and not out "of any carnal luſt or affection, had again con- "deſcended to contract matrimony[481]." This was certainly a very bold ſtroke, when all the world knew that he had been only one day a widower. It is ſurpriſing how the illuſtrious company who heard it kept their countenances. If Henry had been poſſeſſed of any delicacy, he muſt have taken it as a cruel reproach and inſult. But it was ſo well taken, that Richard Rich, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, repeated it; and ſtriving

[480] Burnet, vol. i. p. 208.

[481] Journals of the Houſe of Lords, vol. i. p. 84.

to

to outſtrip the chancellor in flattery, he compared the king to Solomon for wiſdom, to Sampſon for ſtrength, and to Abſalom for beauty [482]. A. D. 1536.

Many laws were made in this parliament; but it is only neceſſary to mention here, the act for regulating the ſucceſſion, for which this parliament had been chiefly called. By that act the divorces of the king from his two former queens are confirmed, and their iſſue illegitimated, and declared incapable of inheriting the crown; which is entailed on the king's iſſue by his preſent queen, and failing of them, on his iſſue by any future queen; and failing of heirs of his own body, he is empowered to appoint and declare his ſucceſſor, by letters patent, or by his laſt will [483]. Such an aſcendant had Henry gained over the minds of his ſubjects, that his will was a law, or very ſoon was made a law by his obſequious parliaments. The article in this act relating to the two divorces is remarkable. After enumerating at great length the grounds of the king's divorce from queen Catherine, it proceeds thus: "That whereas a marriage "heretofore was ſolemnized betwixt the king's "highneſs and the lady Anne Boleyn, that ſithence "that time certain juſt, true, and lawful impedi- "ments of marriage, unknown at the making of "the ſaid acts, (ſettling the crown on her iſſue,) "were confeſſed by the ſaid lady Anne before "Thomas lord archbiſhop of Canterbury, by "which it plainly appeareth, that the ſaid marriage Act of ſucceſſion.

[482] Journals of the Houſe of Lords, vol. i. p. 84.
[483] Herbert, p. 199.

A.D.1536. "betwixt his highneſs and the ſaid lady Anne was "never good nor conſonant to the laws: and "therefore his highneſs was lawfully divorced "from the ſaid lady Anne[484]." Whether the parliament knew theſe impediments of marriage, which they pronounced to be juſt, true, and lawful, or not, we are not informed; but if they did know them, they did not think it prudent to let the world and poſterity know them. There is ſomething myſterious in this manner of proceeding.

Thomas Cromwell had been received into the king's ſervice on the fall of his former patron cardinal Wolſey, and had been ſucceſſively appointed maſter of the jewel houſe, ſecretary of ſtate, keeper of the privy ſeal, and at laſt the king's vicegerent in ſpirituals, a new office of great dignity and power. In all theſe offices he had acquitted himſelf with great activity, prudence, fidelity, and ſucceſs, by which he had acquired ſo much of the king's confidence and favour, that he was in reality his prime miniſter. Though he was a man of low birth, Henry thought proper to raiſe him to the peerage by the ſtyle and title of lord Cromwell, and he was introduced into the houſe of Peers July 19th, the laſt day of the parliament[485]. This promotion was diſagreeable to ſome of the ancient nobility, and to all the lords, biſhops, clergy, and others, who were averſe to any reformation in the church.

Inſurrection in Lincolnſhire. Immediately after the parliament was diſſolved, lord Cromwell, as the king's vicegerent in ſpi-

[484] Herbert, p. 199. [485] Journals, vol. i. p. 101.

rituals,

rituals, engaged in a very unpopular buſineſs, A.D. 1536.
the diſſolution of all the ſmaller monaſteries, to the number of three hundred and ſeventy-ſix, which had been granted to the king by parliament. The demolition of ſo many churches and religious houſes, and the diſperſion of about 10,000 monks and nuns, raiſed a mighty ferment. The popiſh clergy, and particularly the monks and friars, inflamed the paſſions of the people, by aſſuring them, that this was only a prelude to the demolition of all other monaſteries and churches, and the abolition of all religion. The firſt gatherings of the malcontents were in Lincolnſhire, in September. They were headed by doctor Mackerel, prior of Barlings, who took the name of captain Cobler. They did not immediately proceed to hoſtilities, but ſent an humble remonſtrance to the king, containing ſtrong expreſſions of their loyalty, and praying for a redreſs of their grievances, which were theſe: 1. The demolition of their monaſteries: 2. The employing perſons of mean birth to be his miniſters: 3. Levying ſubſidies that were not neceſſary: 4. Taking away four of the ſeven ſacraments: 5. That ſeveral biſhops ſubverted the ancient faith, &c. To this petition the king returned a ſpirited anſwer, vindicating his own conduct in all the particulars of which they complained, commanding them to deliver up their leaders, and to retire to their own homes, to preſerve themſelves, their wives, and children, from ruin[486]. The duke of Suffolk, who had been diſ-

[486] Hall, f. 228.

patched

A. D. 1536. patched againſt them at the head of ſome troops, ſent them this anſwer; and finding them more numerous and determined than he expected he entered into a negotiation with them. Being aſſured by ſome gentlemen who were among the inſurgents, and pretended to have joined them to retard their progreſs, and diſtract their counſels, that if a general pardon was offered, they would diſperſe, he prevailed upon the king to publiſh ſuch a pardon, which had the deſired effect. They made their ſubmiſſion October 19th, and then ſeparated [487].

Pilgrimage of Grace. A ſtill more formidable inſurrection broke out in Yorkſhire and the northern counties about the ſame time, and on the ſame account. This was at firſt excited and directed by Robert Aſke, a man of courage and prudence, who gave his undertaking the ſpecious inviting name of The Pilgrimage of Grace. The influence and perſuaſions of the clergy, eſpecially of the monks, friars, and nuns, who had been turned out of their houſes, wrought ſo much on the ignorance, ſuperſtition, and compaſſion of the people, and ſuch prodigious numbers flew to arms and joined this martial pilgrimage, that they amounted at laſt to forty thouſand. To unite them more firmly, they took an oath and made a declaration, "That they entered into "this pilgrimage of grace for the love of God, "the preſervation of the king's perſon and iſſue, "the purifying the nobility, and driving away all "baſe-born and evil counſellors; and for no par-

[487] Hollingſhed, p. 941.

"ticular

" ticular profit of their own, nor to do diſpleaſure A. D. 1536.
" to any, nor to kill any for envy, but to take be-
" fore them the croſs of Chriſt, his faith, the
" reſtitution of the church, and the ſuppreſſion
" of heretics and their opinions [488]." They painted on their banners the five wounds of Chriſt, wore on their ſleeves a device of the ſame kind, and prieſts marched before them carrying crucifixes, by which arts their zeal was much inflamed. As they advanced, they reſtored the monks to their monaſteries, and perſuaded or compelled all the gentlemen who did not fly, to join them. The archbiſhop of York and lord d'Arcy ſurrendered the caſtle of Pomfret, into which they had retired, and took the above oath. They failed in their attempts on Skipton caſtle, defended by the earl Cumberland; and on the caſtle of Scarborough, defended by ſir Ralph Evers; but they took the town of Hull, and the city of York [489].

The king and his miniſters had been ſo much Truce.
engaged with the inſurgents in Lincolnſhire, that thoſe in the north met with little oppoſition for a conſiderable time. The earl of Shrewſbury ventured to raiſe his followers without waiting for orders, for which he craved the king's pardon, who was ſo far from being offended, that he appointed him commander in chief in the four northern counties, and directed the earl of Derby to join him, with his friends and vaſſals. The marquis of Exeter, and the earls of Huntingdon and Rutland, with their followers, took the field alſo

[488] Burnet, vol. i. p. 229. [489] Ibid. Herbert, p. 205.

A. D. 1536. againſt the rebels; and the king ſent the duke of Norfolk, October 20th, to take the command of his army, which was ſtill far inferior in number to that of the inſurgents. The two armies approached each other at Doncaſter, October 26th, with only the river Don between them, which was ſo ſwelled by rains, that neither of them dared to paſs it in the face of the other. The duke to gain time till certain reinforcements, which he expected, joined him, propoſed a treaty; in which it was agreed, that the inſurgents ſhould ſend a petition to the king by ſir Ralph Elcker and maſter Bowes, (who had been taken priſoners at Hull,) and that the duke ſhould alſo go to court to ſecond their petition, and that there ſhould be a ceſſation of hoſtilities till he and their meſſengers returned [490].

Negotiation.

This agreement was very advantageous to the royaliſts, who wanted only time; but very fatal to the rebels, who, having expended all their money, wanted every thing. Accordingly many of them, ready to periſh with cold and hunger, deſerted, and returned to their own homes. When the duke arrived at court, he found the king preparing to ſet out, to join an army he had commanded to rendezvous at Northampton November 7th. But he convinced him that this was not neceſſary; that the inſurgents were diſtreſſed and diſcontented, and daily deſerting; and that a little patience and policy would put an end to the inſurrection without danger or bloodſhed. The truth ſeems to have

[490] Burnet, vol. i. p. 229. Herbert, p. 206.

been,

been, that the duke, who was at the head of the popiſh party at court, though he acted with great honour and fidelity to the king, had a tenderneſs for the inſurgents, and that he would have been very well pleaſed if they had obtained ſome of their petitions, particularly the diſgrace of his great rival lord Cromwell. However that may be, the king took his advice, and was in no haſte to diſpatch him and the two meſſengers. A long and diſtinct anſwer was prepared to the petition preſented by Elcker and Bowes, ſhewing the unreaſonableneſs of their aſking, and the impropriety of the king's granting what they required. A general pardon, with the exception of ſix named and four unnamed, and a commiſſion to the duke and ſeveral others, to meet with three hundred of the inſurgents at Doncaſter, to ſettle the conditons of peace, paſſed the ſeals, and were ſent down with the duke in the beginning of December. We can only gueſs at the king's reaſons for admitting ſo many of the inſurgents to this negotiation. It was probably to give his own commiſſioners an opportunity of gaining or dividing them. While the duke remained at court, great numbers of the inſurgents had deſerted; others had obtained permiſſion to retire, on their promiſe to return when called; and their army was now much diminiſhed, and in great diſtreſs[491]. A.D. 1536.

Lord Scroop, lord Latimer, lord Lumley, lord d'Arcy, ſir Thomas Percy, Robert Aſke, and about three hundred perſons in all, met with the Pacification.

[491] Herbert, p. 206, &c.

duke

A. D. 1536. duke of Norfolk and the other king's commiſſioners, December 6th, at Doncaſter. When the duke produced the general pardon, they expreſſed great diſſatisfaction with the exceptions it contained; and when they produced their demands, they were found to be the ſame with thoſe in their petition, which, it appeared from the king's anſwer, could not be granted. The duke, who earneſtly deſired a pacification, wrote a preſſing letter to the king, to ſend him a general pardon, without any exceptions, and a promiſe that the next parliament ſhould be held in the north. The king complied with his requeſt, and the inſurgents accepted of theſe conditions and diſbanded, in hopes of having every thing ſettled to their own mind in a parliament held in their own country[492]. There are few examples in hiſtory of two ſuch formidable inſurrections in the ſame country at the ſame time, ſuppreſſed without any action, or a ſingle drop of blood ſpilt in the field. It was alſo a moſt fortunate circumſtance for Henry at this dangerous criſis, that the king of Scots was then in France, and that the emperor and the king of France were engaged in ſuch violent wars, that his rebellious ſubjects could receive no aſſiſtance from Scotland or the Continent.

A. D. 1537. Inſurrection and executions.

Though peace was thus outwardly reſtored, the king and his miniſters knew, that the fire was rather ſmothered than extinguiſhed, and that internal diſcontents ſtill prevailed. The duke of Norfolk was commanded to remain in the north with his

[492] Herbert, p. 207.

troops

troops to preſerve the peace of the country. The wiſdom of this meaſure ſoon appeared. Another inſurrection broke out in Cumberland in the beginning of this year. Nicholas Muſgrave and Thomas Tilby, at the head of eight thouſand men, beſiged Carliſle, but were repulſed by the citizens, and ſoon after defeated by the duke of Norfolk, who, departing from his former moderation, hanged no fewer then ſeventy of his priſoners by martial law. Sir Francis Bigot attempted to ſurpriſe the town of Hull, but was taken and executed. The lord d'Arcy, ſir Robert Conſtable, ſir John Bulmer and his lady, ſir Thomas Percy, ſir Stephen Hamilton, Robert Aſke, Nicholas Tempeſt, and William Lumley, who had been very active in the great inſurrection, and had taken the benefit of the general pardon, being ſuſpected of forming new plots, were apprehended and ſent priſoners to London. The lord d'Arcy and lord Huſſey (who had been concerned in the Lincolnſhire inſurrection) were tried by their peers in Weſtminſter Hall, found guilty and beheaded. The above-named gentleman and lady, with three abbots and a prior, were all condemned and executed. Lady Bulmer was burnt in Smithfield, and Robert Aſke was hung in chains on one of the towers of York. Sixty perſons, who had been concerned in an inſurrection, or rather a riotous tumult, in Somerſetſhire, were tried and put to death [493]. Theſe numerous executions excited great terror, and ſuppreſſed that general ſpirit of A. D. 1537.

[493] Stowe, p. 576. Hall, f. 232. Burnet, p. 234.

revolt

A. D. 1537. revolt which at this time prevailed in England. Whether it could have been ſuppreſſed or not at a leſs expence of blood, we have not the means of judging.

Prince Edward born. Queen Jane Seymour's natural diſpoſition was more agreeable to the humour of her royal huſband, than that of his two former queens, being not ſo grave as queen Catherine, nor ſo gay as queen Anne. Not long after her marriage, ſhe afforded him the proſpect of legitimate iſſue, which of all things in the world he moſt earneſtly deſired; and on October 12th ſhe was ſafely delivered of a prince at Hampton Court. The king was tranſported with joy at this event, and all his loyal ſubjects ſhared in his joy; as by the birth of a prince they were delivered from the danger of a diſputed ſucceſſion, one of the greateſt calamities that can befal a nation, with which they had long been threatened. The prince was baptiſed with extraordinary pomp October 15th, and named Edward. Archbiſhop Cranmer and the duke of Norfolk were the godfathers, and the princeſs Mary godmother; and the king, to ſhew his affection, created him prince of Wales a few days after his baptiſm [491].

The queen dies. But the joy occaſioned by the birth of the prince was ſoon checked, and converted into mourning, by the death of the queen, who expired October 24th, twelve days after her delivery. Happy in this, that ſhe did not ſurvive the love of her too

[491] Strype's Mem. vol. ii.

inconſtant

inconſtant conſort, who appeared to be greatly affected by her death[495]. A. D. 1537.

The negotiations for an alliance and confederacy between the king and the proteſtant princes of Germany, ſtill continued, but advanced very ſlowly. The objects which the contracting parties had in view were not the ſame. The proteſtant princes, it is true, wiſhed to ſtrengthen their confederacy by the acceſſion of ſo great a prince; but their chief object ſeems to have been, to promote the reformation of religion, and to bring the church of England to a conformity in doctrine and worſhip with their own churches. But this was far from being Henry's intention. He was an enemy to the political power, but not to the religious rites and tenets of the church of Rome; and his only object in deſiring an alliance with the German princes was, to raiſe up enemies to the emperor, to prevent his making any attempt on England, of which the pope had made him a preſent. Knowing that the confederates were to have a meeting in March this year at Brunſwick, he ſent an ambaſſador to that meeting to inquire who had joined the confederacy; whether their league was for general oppoſition to the emperor, or limited to religion only; and whether they deſigned to ſend him a great legation, with ſome of their divines, and particularly Melancthon, as they had once promiſed. The ambaſſador was informed, that twenty-ſix cities, and twenty-four princes, of which the king of Denmark was one, had joined the confe- A. D. 1538. Negotiation.

[495] Strype's Mem. vol. ii.

A. D. 1538. deracy; that their league was limited to the cauſe of religion; that they could not ſend their great legation and their divines till they were better informed of the ſentiments of the king of England, and knew what points of their confeſſion he diſapproved; but that they would ſend an ambaſſador and two or three learned men to converſe with the Engliſh divines, and procure more perfect information of the king's ſentiments, and the ſtate of religion in England. Accordingly Francis Bargart and two men of learning were ſent. They were received with civility, and certain biſhops were appointed to confer with them. Theſe conferences continued ſeveral months, and they came to an agreement in ſome things, but in others they could not agree, particularly concerning the communion in one kind, private maſſes, and the celibacy of the clergy, from which the biſhops would not depart. The German deputies returned home with no very favourable account of the ſtate of religion in England, which had put a ſtop to the negotiation [496].

Pope's bulls. The ſuppreſſion of the late inſurrections, and the birth of a ſon and heir to his dominions, were two very fortunate events for Henry, and they happened at the moſt convenient ſeaſon. Things now began to wear a threatening aſpect on the continent. The pope, after many fruitleſs efforts to extinguiſh the flames of war between the emperor and the king of France, had at laſt ſucceeded, and a ten years' truce was concluded between them,

496 Herbert, p. 312. Strype, vol. i. b. i. c. 43.

June

June 28th, by his mediation; and theſe two monarchs had a perſonal interview July 15th, in which they appeared to be perfectly reconciled. This encouraged the pope to publiſh the bulls which he had prepared three years before, excommunicating and depoſing Henry, in hopes that theſe two princes would put them in execution. But theſe two great rivals had not ſuch confidence in one another as to embark in a joint enterpriſe of that kind, and the one would not permit the other to make ſo great a conqueſt. Beſide, Henry's authority was ſo firmly eſtabliſhed by the ſuppreſſion of the late inſurrections, and the birth of an heir, that the ſucceſs of any attempt againſt him was very doubtful [497]. A. D. 1538.

Another formidable enemy to Henry appeared upon the ſtage about this time. This was Reginald Pole, fourth ſon of Margaret counteſs of Saliſbury, daughter of George duke of Clarence, ſecond brother to Edward IV., and conſequently the king's near relation. He early diſcovered a taſte for letters, and was educated at Henry's expence at Paris and at Padua, and deſigned for the higheſt preferments in the church. But in Italy he imbibed opinions, and formed connexions, which determined him to take a decided part againſt his king, his relation, and benefactor, in his controverſies with the court of Rome. He wrote a treatiſe "of the unity of the church," and ſent it to Henry; and afterwards publiſhed it to the world, in which he condemned his divorce Cardinal Pole.

[497] Herbert, p. 216.

A. D. 1538. and ſecond marriage in the ſtrongeſt terms, and even exhorted the emperor to avenge the injury that had been thereby done to his aunt, and to the authority of the pope. Henry, concealing his reſentment, invited him into England, to explain ſome parts of his book, which he pretended he did not underſtand. But Pole very prudently declined putting himſelf in the power of a prince he had ſo highly offended. The pope, to inflame his zeal and increaſe his influence, made him a cardinal, and appointed him his legate *a latere* in Flanders, that he might foment diviſions, and excite inſurrections in England, by correſponding with his numerous and powerful friends. In this he was very active and too ſucceſsful. Two of his own brothers, and ſeveral other perſons of rank, were drawn into a conſpiracy, which was diſcovered, and proved their ruin. Henry Courtney, firſt couſin to the king; the marquis of Exeter, and earl of Devonſhire; Henry Pole lord Montacute, and ſir Jeffrey Pole, the cardinal's two brothers; ſir Edward Nevil, brother to the lord Abergavenny, and ſir Nicholas Carew, maſter of the horſe, and knight of the garter; with ſeveral perſons of inferior rank, were made priſoners November 3d, and ſoon after tried and found guilty of high treaſon. They were all executed, except ſir Jeffrey Pole, who, it is ſaid, betrayed and accuſed his confederates [498]. This was a great diſcouragement to the popiſh party. They knew not whom to truſt, and ſaw how dangerous it

[498] Hall, f. 233. Stowe, p. 576. Herbert, p. 216.

was

was to plot againſt a government ſo vigilant and ſo vindictive. Two prieſts and a mariner were condemned and executed on the ſame occaſion, for managing, as it is probable, the correſpondence between the cardinal and the conſpirators [499]. It is impoſſible to diſcover with certainty the object of this conſpiracy, or the crimes for which theſe noblemen and gentlemen ſuffered. The accuſations againſt them, we are told, were great; and that they had a deſign to promote and maintain one Reginald Pole, the king's enemy beyond ſea, and to deprive the king of his crown [500]. This makes it probable that they were ſuſpected at leaſt of a deſign to raiſe the cardinal to the throne, by a marriage with the princeſs Mary, for which they would have eaſily obtained a diſpenſation from the pope. A.D. 1538.

A new parliament met at Weſtminſter April 25th, A. D. 1539, and was opened with extraordinary pomp. The king and all the members of the two houſes rode in ſtate, two and two, from the palace to Weſtminſter Abbey, heard the maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, and returned in the ſame ſtate and order to the parliament chamber [501]. This parliament, which commenced with ſo much pomp, proceeded with the moſt abject ſervility, and enacted, both in ſpirituals and temporals, whatever the king and his miniſters pleaſed to dictate. By the act of the ſix articles, commonly called the Bloody Statute, they eſtabliſhed the moſt abſurd and pernicious tenets of popery, and authoriſed a perſe- A.D. 1539. Parliament.

[499] Hall, f. 233. Stowe, p. 576.
[500] Herbert, p. 216. Parliament. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 141.
[501] Dugdale's Summons to Parliament, p. 502.

A.D. 1539. cution of thoſe who denied them, more cruel in ſome reſpects than the Spaniſh inquiſition [502]. By another, they granted the king all the lands, rents, buildings, jewels, money, gold and ſilver plate, furniture, goods and chattels of all kinds, of all monaſteries, abbeys, nunneries, priories, houſes of friars, colleges, free chapels, hoſpitals, chantries, and houſes of religion, diſſolved or to be diſſolved. By this prodigious grant the king obtained poſſeſſion of the lands which had belonged to ſix hundred and forty-five monaſteries, ninety colleges of prieſts, one hundred and ten hoſpitals, two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-four chantries and free chapels. The yearly rents of theſe lands amounted to 161,100l. [503] But this was not one half, probably not one third of their annual value, as their former owners had been accuſtomed to let their lands at very low rents, and to levy large fines on the renewal of their leaſes. The value of the jewels, money, plate, cattle, furniture, &c. belonging to theſe religious houſes was immenſe; and the whole, if it had been properly managed, was ſufficient to have rendered the crown independent of the country. But Henry was as profuſe as he was rapacious, and the very next year was reduced to the neceſſity of aſking a ſubſidy from his ſubjects. By another ſtatute, they gave the ſame force and authority to royal proclamations as to acts of parliament, thereby rendering all future parliaments, for the purpoſe of making laws, unneceſſary [504].

502 Herbert, p. 219. 31 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

503 Ibid. p. 218. Statutes,

504 Journals, 31 Hen. VIII.

This

This parliament diſcovered as great forwardneſs in gratifying the reſentment, as the avarice and ambition of the king. A bill was brought into the houſe of peers by Thomas lord Cromwell, (who had now the higheſt ſeat in the houſe aſſigned him by a ſpecial act,) May 10th, for attainting the late marquis of Exeter, lord Montacute, ſir Edward Nevil, and others, which paſſed both houſes with great rapidity [505]. Next day lord Cromwell produced in the houſe a tunic of white ſilk, with the arms of England on the fore-part, and the device of the late inſurgents in the north on the back-part, which had been found among the clothes of the counteſs of Saliſbury by the lord admiral [506]. Upon this, Margaret counteſs of Saliſbury; Gertrude marchioneſs of Exeter; ſir Adrian Forteſcue, and Sir Thomas Dingly; and cardinal Pole, ſon to the counteſs; were attainted of high treaſon, though no particulars of their guilt, or of the proceedings againſt them, are recorded in the Journals. The two knights were executed, the marchioneſs was pardoned, and the counteſs was reſpited [507]. A. D. 1539. Attainders and executions.

The report of ſo many executions, and of the diſſolution of ſo many monaſteries in England, made a mighty noiſe on the continent. Not only the pope, but both the emperor and the king of France were ſhocked at the violence of theſe proceedings; and as theſe two princes ſeemed to be perfectly reconciled, Henry began to be apprehenſive of an invaſion. To be prepared for ſuch Preparations of war.

505 Journals, 31 Hen. VIII. 506 Herbert, p. 219. Hall, f. 234.
507 Rym. tom. xiv. p. 652.

A.D. 1539. an event, he went to Dover, and ordered the fortifications of it to be repaired; viſited the ſea-coaſt, and directed bulwarks to be erected in various places; commanded his fleet to be made ready for ſea, and ſent commiſſions into every county to array all the men capable of bearing arms. He reviewed the militia of London, May 8th, which made a moſt ſplendid appearance [508]. The parliament was adjourned, that the members might be preſent at this fine ſhow. But this was a falſe alarm. Theſe princes had other objects in view, and were not prepared for ſuch an undertaking.

The king's marriage. Henry had now been more than a year a widower, and in that time had been engaged in ſeveral treaties of marriage, particularly in one with the ducheſs dowager of Milan, and in another with Mary of Guiſe, who married his nephew James V. of Scotland. Lord Cromwell wiſhed to ſee him united with a proteſtant princeſs, and recommended Anne, ſiſter to the duke of Cleves, who was reported to be a beauty, of which he knew Henry to be a great admirer. Cromwell was then a mighty favourite, having been lately admitted a knight of the garter, and created earl of Eſſex, and his recommendation was too ſucceſsful. The preliminaries were ſoon adjuſted, though one difficulty occurred. There had been a treaty of marriage begun between the lady Anne and the prince of Lorrain; and it became a queſtion how far that treaty had proceeded. But the duke of Cleves and his miniſters affirmed, that there had been no contract or eſpouſals, and of this they promiſed

[508] Hall, f. 235.

to

to produce ſufficient proof; on which the terms of the king's marriage with her were ſettled. She was brought over from Calais by the earl of Southampton with a fleet of fifty ſail, and landed at Deal December 27th, and by ſlow journies, and with a degree of expence and pomp unknown in modern times, conducted to Greenwich, where the royal nuptials were ſolemnized January 6th, with extraordinary feſtivity and ſplendour [509]. A.D. 1539.

But in the midſt of all theſe outward appearances of joy and triumph the king was devoured by inward chagrin and diſcontent. Impatient to ſee his future queen, he had gone incognito to Rocheſter January 2d, and had a ſight of her without his being known. But ſhe appeared to him very different from what ſhe had been repreſented by her picture, and the deſcriptions he had received of her perſon; and he expreſſed his averſion and diſguſt to thoſe about him in very ſtrong but indelicate terms. He made himſelf known to her however, and received her with civility and even ſeeming kindneſs. But her converſation did not compenſate for the deficiency of her perſonal charms. She underſtood no language but her native German, had no knowledge of muſic, in which he delighted, and he perceived that ſhe would prove a very inſipid companion. He entertained ſome thoughts therefore of ſending her back unmarried. But upon further conſideration, this appeared to be a very dangerous meaſure in his preſent circumſtances. The emperor had lately paſſed through France, had ſpent ſome time A.D. 1540. Henry diſcontented.

[509] Hall, f. 238—242. Herbert, p. 223.

with

A. D. 1540. with the king at Paris, and he ſtrongly ſuſpected that theſe two monarchs had formed ſome deſigns againſt him at the inſtigation of the pope. He knew that many of his own ſubjects were diſaffected, and he entertained ſtrong ſuſpicions of the deſigns of his nephew the king of Scotland, who had lately aſſumed the title of Defender of the Chriſtian Faith. To have ſent back the ſiſter of the duke of Cleves, and the ſiſter-in-law of the elector of Saxony, the moſt powerful prince in the Smalcaldic league, would have deprived him of all hopes of an alliance with that league, and left him expoſed to the aſſaults of his moſt formidable neighbours, without a ſingle ally. He reſolved therefore to proceed to the marriage, though with extreme reluctance. But his averſion and diſlike became greater after marriage than it had been before. Being aſked by Cromwell next morning, if he now liked the queen better than he did before; he anſwered: "Nay, much worſe; "for that having found by ſome ſigns that ſhe was "no maid, he had no diſpoſition to meddle with "her[510]." He carefully concealed this ſecret for ſome time, and continued to treat her, in public, with every proper mark of attention and regard.

Parliament. The parliament, after two prorogations, met at Weſtminſter April 12th. This was the firſt ſeſſion of the Engliſh parliament, to which no abbots or priors were ſummoned, as all their monaſteries were now diſſolved, and their baronies annexed to the crown, which very much diminiſhed the number and the influence of the ſpiritual lords in that

[510] Herbert, p. 222.

aſſembly.

aſſembly. The ſeſſion was opened with a ſpeech by the lord chancellor Audley, in which he acquainted them that this parliament had been at firſt called, and was now again aſſembled, to promote the glory of God, the honour of the king, and the happineſs of the kingdom. A.D. 1540.

It ſoon appeared, that the parliament was aſſembled at this time for a very unexpected purpoſe, of which the chancellor took no notice. That purpoſe was, to obtain a ſubſidy; though that ſame parliament had been told only about a year before, that if they granted the king all the poſſeſſions of all the monaſteries, (which they did,) neither he nor any of his ſucceſſors would have occaſion to demand any ſubſidies from their ſubjects [511]. A bill however for granting the king one tenth and one fifteenth was brought into the houſe of commons early in the ſeſſion. This muſt have excited great ſurpriſe. What was become of all that wealth ſo lately granted to the crown, which was to enrich it for ever, and put an end to all ſubſidies? This moſt ſhameful demand was not rejected; we are not even certain that it met with any oppoſition. This we know, that the bill was brought into the houſe of lords May 10th, read only once, and paſſed with the aſſent and conſent of all who were preſent, and ſo was expedited and concluded [512]. Party rage hath often clogged the wheels of government, and created oppoſition to the moſt ſalutary meaſures. But in this reign it had a contrary effect, and procured the moſt, A ſubſidy.

[511] Coke's 4 Inſtitute, f. 44. [512] Journals, vol. i. p. 135.

unanimous

A. D. 1540. unanimous conſent to the moſt exorbitant demands. This ſeems to have been owing to the great power and awful character of the king, and to the earneſt deſire of each of the two parties, the proteſtants and papiſts, to gain him to their ſide, which they knew could only be done by a blind compliance with his will. The clergy were no leſs complaiſant and generous to the king than the laity. The convocation of Canterbury made him a free gift of four ſhillings in the pound of all their eccleſiaſtical revenues, and the convocation of York followed their example [513]. But though theſe grants paſſed in the parliament and convocation with great ſeeming unanimity, they were very far from being agreeable either to the clergy or laity; and they brought a great load of popular odium upon Cromwell, to whom they were imputed.

Knights of St. John diſſolved.

Henry's avarice was not yet ſatiated, nor the parliament weary of granting: for at the ſame time they diſſolved the order of the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem in England, and granted all their houſes, lands, and goods to the king [514]. The reaſons aſſigned for this, we are told, were theſe: "Becauſe they drew yearly great ſums out "of the kingdom, ſupported the uſurped power "of the pope, had loſt the iſland of Rhodes to "the Turks, and becauſe their revenues might be "better employed [515]."

Cromwell impriſoned.

Theſe meaſures, though they were approved by parliament, were exceedingly unpopular, and ex-

[513] Wilkin. Con. vol. iii. p. 850. [514] Journals, p. 136.
[515] Herbert, p. 224.

cited univerſal murmurs againſt the king and his favourite Cromwell. But Cromwell was no longer a favourite. He had been the propoſer and promoter of the late joyleſs marriage with Anne of Cleves; and Henry, who was naturally fickle and impetuous in all his paſſions, began, about this time, to caſt an amorous eye on Catherine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk, which gave that duke, and the other heads of the popiſh party, great influence at court. By their whiſpers and miſrepreſentations of Cromwell's words and actions, the king's friendſhip for him was quite extinguiſhed, and he abandoned him to the malice of his enemies. He was accuſed of high treaſon at the council-board June 10th by the duke of Norfolk, and immediately committed to the Tower [516]. A.D. 1540.

Cromwell attainted.

Thomas lord Cromwell, earl of Eſſex, knight of the garter, lord chamberlain, and the king's vicegerent in ſpirituals, who a few weeks before had a place aſſigned him by act of parliament above all the ſpiritual and temporal peers of England, was carried from his ſeat in the council chamber Weſtminſter, through the ſtreets of London, to the Tower, at three o'clock in the afternoon June 10th, forſaken by all his friends, and followed by a prodigious crowd of people, hiſſing and curſing the fallen miniſter. The violence of Henry's paſſions was ſo well known, that none dared to plead the cauſe of one who had become the object of his anger, except the archbiſhop of Canterbury. That humane and generous prelate,

[516] Journals, p. 143.

though

A.D. 1540. tempt. For theſe and ſome vain paſſionate ſpeeches he was attainted to ſuffer the pains of death for hereſy and treaſon, as ſhould pleaſe the king [522].

Cromwell beheaded.

After this act of attainder had paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent, Cromwell wrote ſeveral letters to the king imploring mercy. With one of theſe, it is ſaid, he was much affected, commanded it to be read to him three times, and ſeemed to be on the point of relenting. But the charms of Catherine Howard, and the importunities of Norfolk and Gardiner, at length prevailed; all thoughts of mercy were ſtifled, and an order given for beheading him on Tower-hill, July 28th, which was executed [523]. Thus fell Thomas Cromwell, earl of Eſſex, a ſacrifice to the paſſions of a capricious tyrant, to whom he had been too obſequious. He was certainly one of the greateſt and moſt extraordinary men of the age in which he flouriſhed, and (if we may believe that excellent prelate archbiſhop Cranmer, who was a very capable judge, and knew him well) one of the wiſeſt and moſt upright miniſters that had ever ſerved a king of England. His aſtoniſhing riſe, from one of the loweſt ranks in ſociety to a very uncommon degree of honour, power, and riches, without the advantage of education, ſeems to be a ſufficient indication of his abilities; and the very accuſations brought againſt him by the ingenuity and malice of his enemies, are ſuch, that they afford a ſtrong preſumptive proof of his prudence and integrity.

[522] Burnet, p. 278. [523] Ibid. p. 284.

As

As ſoon as Henry had got his miniſter attainted, he proceeded to get his queen divorced; and he found his parliament as obſequious in the one as they had been in the other. A motion was made in the houſe of lords, July 6th, by the chancellor, lord Audley, "That an humble addreſs be preſented to the king, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to grant a commiſſion to the convocation of both provinces, to try the validity of his preſent marriage, and that application be made to the commons for their concurrence." This motion was unanimouſly approved. A deputation was ſent to the commons, who readily agreed to join in the addreſs. The whole houſe of lords, with about twenty of the commons, immediately went to court, and being admitted into the royal preſence, the lord chancellor ſaid, "That the two houſes of parliament wiſhed to mention a matter of great moment to his majeſty, and humbly prayed, that his moſt excellent ſerenity, out of his ineſtimable goodneſs, would grant them his permiſſion." To which the king replied, "That he had ſo good an opinion of his two houſes of parliament, that he was convinced they would not propoſe any thing that was iniquitous, diſhoneſt, or unreaſonable; and therefore he permitted them to ſpeak with impunity, and promiſed to hear them benignly and favourably." The lord chancellor then preſented the above addreſs. To which the king made anſwer, "That though the matter was of very great moment, yet he could not deny them, nor refuſe to

A. D. 1540. Commiſſion to try the king's marriage.

A. D. 1540. "commit the affair of his marriage to the convo-
"cation of both provinces; in which he believed
"there were as many grave, learned, honeſt, and
"pious men as in any part of the world, and did
"not doubt but their deciſion would be juſt, equi-
"table, and holy; and commanded letters patent
"to be made out for that purpoſe. He further
"called God to witneſs, that he would conceal no-
"thing that could contribute to diſcover the truth;
"and that he had nothing at heart but the glory of
"God, the good of the kingdom, and the free-
"dom and majeſty of juſtice." Then the nobles, after a more than a moſt humble ſalutation, retired [524]. This was a very ſplendid piece of political mummery, and was, no doubt, conducted with all becoming gravity.

The king's divorce. On the ſame day, July 6th, the promiſed commiſſion paſſed the ſeals, and was next morning preſented to the convocation at Saint Paul's. Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, made a long harangue to both houſes; in which he enumerated the various doubts that were entertained concerning the validity of the king's marriage. The convocation then appointed a committee of ſix biſhops and twelve members of the lower houſe, to examine witneſſes, and to procure all the information they could, and to lay it before the next meeting, between ſix and eight o'clock next morning, to which they adjourned. The committee ſpent that afternoon in taking the evidence of the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the other great officers of the

[524] Journals, vol. i. p. 153.

crown, and two of the king's phyſicians. Next morning the biſhop of Wincheſter laid all the evidences, with certain inſtruments relating to the marriage, before both houſes. The convocation, after ſpending a conſiderable time in reading theſe inſtruments and evidences, and deliberating on the merits of the cauſe, adjourned to three o'clock in the afternoon. At that meeting the archbiſhop of Canterbury, with the aſſent of all the members of both houſes, pronounced the ſentence of divorce; declaring the marriage of the king and Anne of Cleves unlawful, and that both parties were at liberty to marry elſewhere. The convocation then appointed the former committee to prepare an inſtrument of the divorce in due form, to be preſented to the king, and adjourned to the next day. The committee, on that day, July 9th, laid before the convocation the inſtrument of the divorce; containing the grounds on which the ſentence was founded, which were theſe: 1. Becauſe there had been a treaty of marriage between the lady Anne and the prince of Lorrain, which perhaps proceeded to a contract, and renders your majeſty's marriage with that lady doubtful and perplexed. 2. Becauſe your majeſty was betrayed into that marriage by flattering deſcriptions of the lady's beauty, which were falſe. 3. Becauſe your majeſty never gave your entire hearty conſent to that marriage, but entered into it with great inward reluctance. 4. Becauſe your majeſty had not conſummated, and neither will nor can conſummate that marriage by the *carnalis copula*. 5. Becauſe A. D. 1540.

A. D. 1540. it will be a great advantage to the kingdom, that your majeſty be ſet at liberty to contract a marriage with ſome other lady. For all theſe cauſes together, and for each of them ſeparately, the convocation declared the king's marriage with Anne of Cleves unlawful, null, and void; and that he was at liberty to contract another marriage [525]. How trivial, or rather how ridiculous, are the cauſes aſſigned for their ſentence by this venerable aſſembly! How ſurpriſing the unlimited aſcendant that this prince poſſeſſed over the minds of his ſubjects in parliament and convocation! He could deſire nothing of theſe great aſſemblies, however unreaſonable, that they did not grant with perfect unanimity and ſeeming alacrity.

Confirmed by parliament.

This ſentence of the convocation was reported, July 10th, to the houſe of lords firſt, by archbiſhop Cranmer and the biſhop of Wincheſter, and the lords ſent theſe two prelates to communicate it to the houſe of commons. It was very agreeable to both houſes; for on Monday July 12th, a bill for annulling the king's marriage was brought into the houſe of lords, and the next day paſſed that houſe, and was ſent to the commons, who paſſed it with equal expedition [526]. This bill, with many others, received the royal aſſent July 24th, the laſt day of this parliament, in which (as we learn from the laſt article in the Journals) there had not been any difference of opinion on any ſubject in the houſe of lords during the whole ſeſſion [527]. A thing that

525 Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 851—855. Strype, vol. i. Records, p. 306—515. 526 Journals, vol. i. p. 155. 157. 527 Ibid.

could

could not have happened if there had been any freedom of debate. A. D. 1540.

When theſe tranſactions (which had been carefully concealed from her) were communicated to the divorced queen, by the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Southampton, ſhe was not ſo much affected as might have been expected; and when they told her that the king deſigned to declare her his adopted ſiſter, to grant her 3000l. a year for her honourable ſupport, and to give her precedency of all the ladies of the court, except his queen and daughters, ſhe ſeemed to be perfectly ſatisfied. At Henry's deſire, ſhe even wrote to her brother and her family, aſſuring them that ſhe had been well uſed in England, where ſhe reſolved to remain; that ſhe was perfectly pleaſed with her ſituation, and intreated them not to be offended at any thing that had happened [528]. Communicated to the queen.

If Henry was impatient to be divorced from one lady, he was no leſs impatient to be united to another. His marriage with Catherine Howard, daughter of lord Edmond Howard, and niece to the duke of Norfolk, was celebrated privately, and the exact date of it is not known; but ſhe was preſented Auguſt 8th to the whole court as queen [529]. The king was ſo much charmed with his new conſort, that he commanded his almoner to compoſe a form of thankſgiving to God, for the felicity he enjoyed in her ſociety; and on All-Saints day, when he received the ſacrament, he publicly gave thanks to God for the happy life he now led, and King's marriage.

[528] Burnet, vol. i. p. 282. [529] Hall, f. 2. 43. Stowe, p. 581.

A. D. 1540. hoped to lead, with his beloved queen [530]. But this extraordinary felicity, of which he was ſo oſtentatious, was not of long duration.

A.D. 1541. Counteſs of Sarum beheaded.

Much blood was ſhed on the ſcaffold, and many perſons of different ranks were executed in England this year; ſome on a civil, and others on a religious account. The moſt illuſtrious of theſe ſufferers was the aged counteſs of Saliſbury, Margaret, daughter of George duke of Clarence, ſecond brother of Edward IV. mother of cardinal Pole, and the laſt of the royal race of the Plantagenets. This venerable matron, deſcended from ſo long a line of kings, had been attainted by parliament A. D. 1539, and had been kept in priſon ever ſince. Diſregarding her ſex, her age, and her royal deſcent, ſhe was brought to a ſcaffold in the Tower May 27th, to be beheaded, where, though in her ſeventieth year, ſhe behaved with great ſpirit and magnanimity. When ſhe was deſired to lay her head upon the block, ſhe obſtinately refuſed, ſaying, "I am no traitor; I have done "nothing to deſerve death; if you will have my "head," ſhaking her gray locks, "you muſt get "it as well as you can." In conſequence of this, ſhe was butchered rather than beheaded [531]. What provoked Henry to this act of cruelty it is impoſſible to diſcover. She was perhaps ſuſpected of exciting a trifling inſurrection in the north, which was inſtantly ſuppreſſed; or of correſponding with her ſon the cardinal. But the truth is, we are much better informed of the puniſhments

[530] Burnet, p. 311. [531] Herbert, p. 227.

than

than of the crimes of many eminent perſons in this reign. A. D. 1541.

That warmth of friendſhip which had long ſubſiſted between the kings of France and England was now much abated; owing to various cauſes, but chiefly to the artifices of the emperor, who had long laboured to create a miſunderſtanding between them. Henry apprehended an attack upon his territories in France, and was at no little expence in repairing the fortifications, and ſtrengthening the garriſons of Calais and Guiſnes. But as both theſe princes wiſhed to avoid an open rupture at this time, they appointed commiſſioners to meet and ſettle the diſputes that had ariſen upon the marches, which were but trifling [532]. Treaty.

There was nothing Henry more earneſtly deſired than to gain the friendſhip and confidence of his nephew, James V. of Scotland. With this view he had ſolicited an interview with him at York, to which, it is ſaid, James conſented. Henry therefore, with his queen and court, ſet out on a progreſs into the north in the beginning of Auguſt, and in his way viſited thoſe parts of the country where the late inſurrections had chiefly prevailed. He was every where received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy, and the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of loyalty; and the more effectually to conciliate his favour, and efface the remembrance of their former conduct, the towns, the nobility, and the clergy, preſented him with conſiderable ſums of money, according to their abilities. On the borders of Yorkſhire he was met by two hundred gen- Progreſs.

[532] Hall, f. 243.

A. D. 1541. tlemen, who fell upon their knees, and by the mouth of ſir Robert Bowes, made their ſubmiſſion, and preſented him with 900l. The archbiſhop, at the head of three hundred prieſts, met him three miles from York, and made him a preſent of 600l. Theſe were valuable preſents in thoſe times; but this mighty monarch did not diſdain to accept of 20l. from the town of Stamford [533]. The king and court of England remained twelve days at York, expecting the arrival of the king of Scotland. But that prince was perſuaded, or rather bribed, by his clergy to ſtay at home. Henry was greatly irritated at this diſappointment, and returned into the ſouth, fully determined on a war with Scotland.

Information againſt the queen.

The death of Cromwell, the king's matrimonial connection with the family of Norfolk, and his exceſſive fondneſs for his queen, had filled the popiſh party with the moſt ſanguine hopes, and the friends of the reformation with the moſt alarming fears. But an unexpected diſcovery was now made, which blaſted the hopes of the one, and diſpelled the fears of the other. When the king was in the north, one John Loſſels came to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and made a diſcovery of the queen's lewdneſs before her marriage, which he ſaid had been communicated to him by his ſiſter, who had been a ſervant in the family of the old ducheſs of Norfolk, in which the queen reſided. According to his account ſhe had conducted her criminal intercourſe with two gentlemen, Mannoc and Derham, (who held offices in the family,) with ſo little ſecrecy, that her guilt was notorious, and could be

[533] Hall, f. 244.

clearly

clearly proved. Particularly, that three different female ſervants had at different times and frequently ſlept all night in the ſame bed with her and Derham, and had told this to his ſiſter and the other ſervants; and that Mannoc diſcovered ſuch an intimate knowledge of her perſon to ſome of his fellow-ſervants, as he could not have obtained without the moſt indecent and criminal familiarity. The archbiſhop wrote the particulars of this information, and communicated them to the lord chancellor and the earl of Hertford, who had been left at London. They all agreed that it was neceſſary to communicate this diſagreeable information to the king; and that unpleaſant taſk was laid upon the archbiſhop [534]. A.D. 1541.

The king returned from his progreſs in the end of October, and it was on November 1ſt, when he took the ſacrament, that he thanked God publicly for the happineſs he enjoyed with his queen. The very next day the archbiſhop came to court, and had an audience of the king, in which he ſaid nothing of the queen; but as he was taking his leave, he put the paper containing Loſſels' declaration into his hand. Henry was then in the height of his dotage upon the queen; and it is impoſſible to conceive the ſurpriſe and horror with which he was ſeized on peruſing that paper. At firſt he exclaimed in rage that it was falſe: it was impoſſible. But when he became more cool, and obſerved how very pointed and particular the information was, he reſolved to make an inquiry. He ſent with great The queen detected.

[534] Herbert, p. 228.

ſecrecy

A. D. 1541. ſecrecy for the lord privy ſeal, the lord admiral, ſir Anthony Brown, and ſir Thomas Wriotheſly, and communicated to them, in confidence, the information he had received, and his reſolution to make an inquiry into the truth of it, but in ſuch a manner as to give no alarm to the queen, and to raiſe no ſcandal. The earl of Southampton, lord privy ſeal, examined Loſſels, who adhered to the information he had given the archbiſhop, and had received from his ſiſter. The earl then went into Suſſex, where the ſiſter lived, on a pretence of hunting; called at her houſe as if by accident, and aſking ſome indifferent queſtions, inſenſibly led her to ſpeak of the queen, and what ſhe had ſaid to her brother. She confirmed every thing ſhe had ſaid, and added other circumſtances and evidences. On this, Mannoc and Derham were ſeized on different pretences; and being privately examined, and finding that their ſecrets were diſcovered, they confeſſed their own guilt, and the queen's, and gave ſtill further information. When all this was reported to the king, he burſt into tears, and bitterly bewailed his unhappineſs [535].

Sent to the Tower. The queen was now removed to Sion, but without any indication of unkindneſs or diſgrace. There ſhe was examined by the primate, the chancellor, her uncle the duke of Norfolk, and ſome other lords. At firſt ſhe denied every thing: but when ſhe found that all was diſcovered, and would be proved, ſhe made and ſubſcribed a confeſſion of her guilt with Derham before her marriage, but

[535] Herbert, p. 228, 229.

denied

denied any pre-contract, or any violation of her marriage vows [536]. In this, however, ſhe was not believed; for in the courſe of their inquiries it had been diſcovered that one Culpepper, a relation of her's by her mother, had carried on a criminal correſpondence with her before her marriage, and that when the court was at Lincoln, on the late progreſs, he was introduced by lady Rochford into the queen's bed-chamber at eleven o'clock in the evening, and had remained there till four o'clock the next morning. Beſides, ſhe had procured a place at court for Derham, and taken one of the women who had been accuſtomed to ſleep with her and him into her ſervice. In a word, it was now fully proved, that ſhe had been a diſſolute wanton before her marriage, and made it highly probable that ſhe intended to continue the ſame courſe of life after. On theſe diſcoveries Culpepper was impriſoned, and the queen and lady Rochford were ſent to the Tower. Derham and Culpepper were tried and found guilty November 30th, and were executed December 10th, at Tyburn [537]. The old ducheſs of Norfolk, the queen's grandmother, lord William Howard her uncle, and ſeveral other relations and ſervants of the family, were found guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon, for concealing her vicious conduct, (which ſeems to have been no great ſecret,) and condemned to perpetual impriſonment [538].

A.D. 1541.

536 Burnet, vol. iii. Records, p. 171.
537 Stowe, p. 583. 538 Herbert, p. 229.

A new

A.D. 1542. Parliament.

A new parliament met January 16th A.D. 1542, and was opened by the chancellor with a very long ſpeech, which (ſay the Journals) it would have required three hours to write, and one hour to read; and the clerks were ſo much engaged with other buſineſs, that they could only take down a ſmall part of it—an aukward apology for omitting every thing that related to the queen. What they have preſerved of this famous ſpeech is a ſpecimen of the moſt extravagant flattery. Among other things, the chancellor ſaid, "That when his moſt "ſacred majeſty came to the throne, he prayed to "God to grant him wiſdom and underſtanding; "and the Almighty had anointed him with the "oil of wiſdom above his fellows, above all the "other kings of the earth, and above all his pre-"deceſſors." Every time the king was named in this long ſpeech, which was very often, all the lords and commons bowed almoſt to the ground, to ſignify their approbation of the praiſes beſtowed upon him [539]. On the third day of the parliament the king received more incenſe of the ſame kind, and equally ſtrong, from Thomas Moile, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons.

The queen attainted and beheaded.

The great end for which this parliament was called, was to diſpoſe of the queen, and make the king once more a widower; and they ſet about that buſineſs without delay; for the very next day, January 21ſt, a bill of attainder of Catherine Howard, late queen of England, and of Jane lady Roch-

[539] Journals, p. 164, 165.

ford,

ford, for high treaſon; of Agnes ducheſs of Nor- A. D. 1542.
folk, lord William Howard, and others, for miſ-priſion of treaſon; was brought into the houſe of peers, and read a firſt time [540]. On Saturday, January 28th, the lord chancellor repreſented to the houſe the great delicacy and caution that were to be uſed in trying a queen; and propoſed to appoint a committee to examine her, and report her anſwers to the king. This motion was univerſally approved; and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Southampton, and the biſhop of Weſtminſter, were appointed a committee for that purpoſe. But they were directed not to do any thing till they had conſulted the king, and obtained his permiſſion. This mode of proceeding, it ſeems on further conſideration, did not pleaſe the king; for on Monday, January 30th, the lord chancellor acquainted the houſe, that a better method had occurred to the king's council, *viz.* to petition the king to grant his permiſſion to them to proceed and finiſh the queen's cauſe; and that when it was finiſhed he would give his royal aſſent, not in perſon, leſt that ſhould revive his ſorrow, which now began to abate, but by commiſſion; and that he would graciouſly pardon the members of his parliament, if in the courſe of this buſineſs any of them ſpoke diſreſpectfully of the queen. None of this tenderneſs was ſhewn by the king and parliament to the amiable and unfortunate Anne Boleyn. Next day the lord chancellor reported to the houſe, that their petitions had been preſented

[540] Journal's, p. 168.

to

A.D.1542. to the king, and that he had been graciouſly pleaſed to grant them all. The chancellor, February 11th, produced before both houſes an act of attainder of Catherine Howard, late queen of England, and of lady Jane Rochford, for high treaſon; of the ducheſs of Norfolk, the counteſs Bridgwater her daughter, the lord William Howard and his lady, other four men and five women, for miſpriſion of treaſon ſigned by the king, as an evidence of his aſſent[541]. The day after, February 12th, the queen and lady Rochford were beheaded on a ſcaffold in the Tower[542]. The execution of lady Rochford (who had been the chief inſtrument of the death of her own huſband lord Rochford, and of his ſiſter queen Anne Boleyn) revived the memory of theſe lamented ſufferers, and contributed ſtill farther to convince the world of their innocence.

The act of attainder of the queen contained ſeveral curious clauſes, dictated, it is probable, by the preſent peeviſh diſcontented humour of the king. By one of theſe clauſes it was made high treaſon to conceal the incontinence of the queen for the time being. By another it was declared, that if the king, or any of his ſucceſſors, ſhould intend to marry any woman, believing her to be a clean and pure maid, and ſhe not being ſo, did not reveal the ſame to the king, it ſhould be high treaſon; and if any other perſon knew her not to be a maid and did not reveal it, it ſhould be miſpriſion of treaſon. By another, it was made high treaſon

[541] Journals, p. 171, 172. 176. [542] Burnet, p. 313.

in

in the queen or prince's wife to ſolicit, by words or meſſages, any perſon to intrigue with them; and in any perſon, in like manner, to ſolicit them, and in all their conſidents and abettors [543]. Theſe indelicate diſhonourable laws were repealed in the firſt year of the ſucceeding reign. A. D. 1542.

Negotiations.

Henry, as hath been already obſerved, had been greatly irritated at his nephew, James V. for not meeting him at York, and had reſolved upon a war with Scotland. But before he entered upon that war, he thought it prudent to ſecure a peace with France, that Scotland might receive no aſſiſtance from that quarter. With this view he ſent ſir William Paget to the court of France, to propoſe a renewal of the treaty of perpetual peace and amity. But the French miniſtry, knowing or ſuſpecting the deſign of this propoſal, replied, that the treaty was conditional, and that the king of England had violated theſe conditions. The ambaſſador recriminated, the negotiation degenerated into angry altercations, and Paget, at his return, reported that there could be no reliance on the friendſhip of France [544]. Though king James had been prevailed upon by his clergy not to keep the appointment at York, he earneſtly deſired to avoid a war, and ſent the biſhop of Orkney and John Liermont, maſter of his houſehold, to the court of England, to pacify his uncle, and regain his friendſhip. But theſe ambaſſadors met with a very cold reception; and the army deſigned for an invaſion of Scotland being now ready, Henry pub-

543 Statutes, 33 Hen. VIII. c. 21. 544 Herbert, p. 231.

liſhed

A. D. 1542. liſhed a very long declaration of war, in which he inſiſted at great length on the antiquated claim of the kings of England to the ſuperiority of Scotland. He did not forget James's breach of his engagement to meet him at York, which was in reality the only thing of which he had any reaſon to complain. But he took care not to mention his real inducement to this war, which was to compel his nephew, ſince he could not perſuade him, to relinquiſh his alliance with France, and enter into an intimate union with England [545].

War with Scotland.

The Engliſh army, conſiſting of twenty thouſand men well appointed, commanded by the duke of Norfolk, attended by ſix earls, and many lords, knights, and gentlemen, entered Scotland October 21ſt, burnt ſeveral villages, with the town and abbey of Kelſo, and returned to Berwick on the 29th of the ſame month. It is difficult to account for the ſudden retreat of this formidable army. An Engliſh hiſtorian ſays, they could ſtay no longer for cold and hunger [546]. But if warmth and plenty prevailed in England, they were never at a greater diſtance from it than ten miles. However that may be, as ſoon as the Engliſh retreated, the Scots prepared to invade England by the Weſt marches with an army of fifteen thouſand men. The king conducted his troops to Caerlaverock, where he remained: but when the army arrived at Solway-moſs, and were ready to enter England, Oliver Sinclair, the king's hated minion, was proclaimed general, which threw the whole army into confuſion,

[545] Hall. f. 248—254. [546] Id. ibid.

and

and a diſpoſition to diſband. Sir Thomas Wharton, warden of the Weſt marches, ſir William Muſgrave, and the baſtard of Dacres, at the head of a body of horſe, obſerving this diſorder, advanced, and to their great ſurpriſe met with no reſiſtance. Many lords, gentlemen, and others, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners to the firſt who approached them, while the reſt fled on every ſide[547]. When king James (who had of late diſcovered ſome ſymptoms of a diſordered imagination) received the news of this diſaſter, he became quite frantic, and ſoon after ſunk into a ſettled melancholy, from which he never recovered, but died December 14th, leaving an infant princeſs, only ſeven days old, heireſs of his dominions[548]: a princeſs who became the object of much ambitious competition and of many political intrigues during her life, and of much literary altercation after her death. A. D. 1542.

The earls of Caſſells and Glencarne, the lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville, Oliphant, and Gray, with about twenty of the principal gentlemen who had been taken at Solway-moſs, were carried to London, and after two days impriſonment, they were committed to the cuſtody of certain prelates and noblemen, by whom they were hoſpitably entertained. When Henry heard of the death of king James and the birth of his daughter, he began to entertain thoughts of a marriage between his ſon the prince of Wales and the infant queen of Scotland, and invited his priſoners to Hampton A.D. 1543. Projected marriage.

[547] Hall, f. 255. Stowe, p. 583. [548] Herbert, p. 233.

A.D.1543. Court to a royal feaſt. In the midſt of the feſtivity the project of the marriage was introduced, and the king, obſerving that it was approved by the Scotch lords and gentlemen, propoſed to give them their liberty, on condition that they promiſed to promote the marriage with all their power in their own country, and that they gave hoſtages for their return into confinement if they proved unſucceſsful. They joyfully accepted theſe conditions, ſet out on their journey homeward January 1ſt, A. D. 1543, and viſited the prince of Wales at Enfield the ſame day. At Newcaſtle they delivered their hoſtages to the duke of Suffolk, and arrived at Edinburgh about the middle of January [549].

Treaty. There had been a kind of piratical war carried on between the French and Engliſh merchants all the preceding year, and now a national war appeared to be unavoidable. Henry had for a conſiderable time paſt been diſſatisfied with his former friend king Francis on various accounts, and had been ſecretly negotiating an alliance with his great adverſary the emperor, with whom he had been long at variance. This negotiation was brought to maturity in the beginning of this year, and on February 11th a treaty of perpetual peace, amity, and friendſhip, between the emperor and Henry king of England, and their heirs and ſucceſſors for ever, was concluded, and ſigned by their plenipotentiaries [550]. This treaty is very long, and contains all the general articles inſerted in thoſe fragile ſhort-lived treaties of perpetual peace. By one

[549] Hall, f. 255. [550] Rym. tom. xiv. p. 768—780.

article

article the two confederates agree to demand of the king of France, by their ambaſſadors at his court, That he break off all intercourſe with the Turk, and recal his reſidents; that he repay all the loſſes ſuſtained by Chriſtendom for the Turk by his procurement; that he ceaſe from war with the emperor, that he may be at liberty to defend Chriſtendom from the Turk; that he immediately pay the king of England all the arrears of his perpetual penſion, and give him lands as a ſecurity for the regular payment of it in future. If the king of France did not comply with theſe requiſitions, (which they perfectly well knew he would not,) they then agree to declare war againſt him, the emperor claiming Burgundy, and the king of England claiming the crown of France; and that they ſhould not make peace but by mutual conſent. By the ſubſequent articles the *quotas* of money and troops to be furniſhed by each of the contracting parties were ſettled [551]. After the concluſion of this treaty both princes prepared for war. A.D. 1543.

To be provided with money, the ſinews of war, the king held a ſeſſion of parliament, which began January 22d. A bill for granting the king a ſupſidy was brought up from the commons to the houſe of peers March 6th, and read next day for the firſt time, and ſent back to the commons: it was brought up again to the peers March 9th, with a proviſo annexed, which was read the day after: on the 14th it was ſent back to the commons with a proviſo for the town of Stamford, and on the Subſidy.

551 Rym. tom. xiv. p. 768—780. Herbert, p. 236, 237.

A. D. 1543. 15th brought up again to the lords. No farther notice is taken of this bill (which had been thus toſſed between the two houſes) in the Journals. It appears, however, from the liſt of the acts made in this ſeſſion, that this bill did paſs both houſes, and received the royal aſſent [552]. The ſubſidy granted was as follows: "They who were in goods "worth twenty ſhillings and upwards to five "pounds, paid four pence of every pound; from "five pounds to ten pounds, eight pence; from "ten to twenty pounds, ſixteen pence; from "twenty and upwards, two ſhillings. All ſtrangers, "as well denizens as others, inhabiting here, double "the ſum. As for lands, fees, and annuities, "every native paid eight pence in the pound, "from one pound to five pounds; from five to ten "pounds, ſixteen pence; from ten to twenty pounds, "two ſhillings; from twenty and upwards, three ſhil-"lings. Strangers double theſe rates [553]." The clergy of both provinces in convocation granted a ſubſidy of ſix ſhillings in the pound of all their eccleſiaſtical revenues, to be paid in three years; and this grant was confirmed by an act of parliament [554].

Treaties. When the Scotch lords and gentlemen above mentioned, accompanied by the earl of Angus and his brother ſir George Douglas, who had been fifteen years exiles in England, arrived at Edinburgh, they found their country in great confuſion: they immediately applied to James Hamilton earl of Arran, governor of the kingdom, and com-

[552] Journals, p. 213 235. [553] Parl. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 190.
[554] Journal, p. 235.

municated to him the king of England's propoſal of a peace between the two nations, and of a marriage between the infant queen and his only ſon the prince of Wales. The governor approved of this propoſal, and promiſed to promote its ſucceſs with all his power. With this view he aſſembled a great council of the nobility January 27th, and laid the propoſal before them, which met with their approbation; and it was reſolved to ſummons a parliament to meet March 13th at Edinburgh. When the parliament met, few of the noblemen of the French party attended, and cardinal Beaton, the head of that party, was put in confinement. The majority therefore declared in favour of the peace and marriage; and William earl of Glencarne; ſir George Douglas, brother to the earl of Angus; William Hamilton, of Sanquhar; John Liermont, of Balcomy; and Henry Balnavis, ſecretary, were appointed commiſſioners May 4th to negotiate theſe two important affairs[555]. Henry appointed the lord chancellor Audley, the duke of Norfolk, the biſhops of Wincheſter and Weſtminſter, the lord St. John and ſir John Cage, his plenipotentiaries. The treaty of peace was eaſily concluded, and contained nothing uncommon: but the treaty of marriage was attended with more difficulty, and it took up a conſiderable time before all the conditions could be ſettled. At length, however, both treaties were ſigned July 1ſt at Greenwich. Henry had at firſt propoſed, that the infant queen ſhould be immediately ſent into England, and that the govern- A.D. 1543.

[555] Rym. tom. xiv. p. 781—785.

A.D. 1543. ment of the kingdom, with the chief places of ſtrength, ſhould be committed to him as guardian to his ſon and future daughter-in-law; and theſe were the conditions which his priſoners had promiſed their endeavours to procure. But the Scots were too jealous of their independency, and had too little confidence in their powerful ambitious neighbour, to liſten to theſe propoſals. All he could obtain was, that he might ſend a nobleman, with his lady and family, to reſide with the queen, and aſſiſt in taking care of her health and education; and that, when ſhe was ten years of age, ſhe ſhould be conducted to Berwick, and there delivered to ſuch honourable perſons as were appointed to receive her: but that the marriage ſhould be ſolemnized by proxies, according to the rites of the church, before the queen left Scotland; and that if ſhe became a widow without iſſue by that marriage, ſhe ſhould be permitted to return to her own kingdom, free from all matrimonial engagements. By other articles, the freedom and independency of the kingdom, and the continuance of the earl of Arran in the government of it, were anxiouſly ſecured [556]. But all this was only the work of one party of the nobles and people of Scotland, and was ſoon overturned.

The king's marriage. While Henry was thus employed in negotiating a marriage for his ſon, he was not unmindful of one for himſelf. The late act of parliament rendered him a dangerous gallant to maiden ladies; he therefore made his addreſſes to a widow, and

[556] Rym. p. 792—796.

married

married the lady Catherine Parr, relict of the lord Latimer, and ſhe was preſented July 12th to the whole court as queen [557]. A. D 1543.

War with France.

At the ſame time that Henry announced his marriage, he publiſhed his league with the emperor, and prepared for a war with France in conſequence of that league. The emperor began the war by an attack on the duke of Cleves, who, unable to reſiſt ſo powerful an enemy, ſubmitted, and renounced his alliance with France. Henry agreeably to a ſtipulation in his treaty with the emperor, ſent ſix thouſand men, under the command of ſir John Wallop, to the aſſiſtance of that prince. Theſe troops landed at Calais, marched along the confines of France, and joined the Imperial army at the ſiege of Landrecy. But this town was ſo bravely defended, that the emperor was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and put his army into winter-quarters [558]. Thus ended this campaign, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide.

Affairs of Scotland.

In the mean time affairs had taken a very unfavourable turn in Scotland. Cardinal Beaton, by corrupting his keeper the lord Seaton, had obtained his liberty, and had called a meeting of the clergy at St. Andrews, to whom he repreſented, that if the marriage of the queen with the prince of Wales was not prevented, they would be ruined, and deprived of all their poſſeſſions: by which means, he obtained a great ſum of money from them, with which he confirmed and encouraged his own partiſans, and gained ſome of the other

557 Herbert, p. 239. 558 Stowe, p. 585.

A. D. 1543. party. The queen-mother, a lady of uncommon abilities and addreſs, though ſhe made the faireſt profeſſions to ſir Ralph Sadler, the Engliſh ambaſſador, ſecretly and cordially co-operated with the cardinal againſt the governor and the match with England. But the weakneſs and irreſolution of the governor himſelf gave the greateſt advantage to his enemies againſt him and his party. To keep him ſteady, Henry directed his ambaſſador to promiſe the lady Elizabeth in marriage to his ſon lord Hamilton: but nothing could give him that firmneſs and fortitude which nature had denied him. The queen and cardinal knew his timidity, and employed various arts to rouſe his fears. For this purpoſe they employed his natual brother the abbot of Paiſley, who reſided conſtantly with him, and had a great aſcendant over him. The governor's father had been divorced from his firſt lady, and the abbot aſſured him, that if he did not abandon the party that favoured England and the reformation, the cardinal was determined to prevail upon the pope to reverſe the ſentence of his father's divorce, and declare him illegitimate, by which he would not only loſe all hopes of ſucceeding to the crown, but that he would alſo be deprived of the eſtate and honours of his family, which would all devolve on his mortal enemy the earl of Lennox. To confirm his apprehenſions, they recalled the earl of Lennox from France, received him with the moſt oſtentatious marks of favour, and gave out that he was to marry the queen dowager, and to ſucceed to the crown, if the

the young queen died without iſſue. Greatly alarmed at this, the governor, after wavering ſome time between the two parties, at laſt re-reſolved to abandon the party which had raiſed him to the government, and would have ſupported him, and to throw himſelf into the hands of the other party, who made him many ſpecious but fallacious promiſes. He had a private meeting with the cardinal at Callendar, September 4th, in which all the terms of their agreement were ſettled, and rode with him the ſame evening to Stirling, where the two queens reſided: there, it is ſaid, he publicly abjured the doctrines of the reformers, to which he had before profeſſed an attachment; and put his ſon, lord Hamilton, into the cardinal's hands, to be educated by him; but in reality as a hoſtage for his own fidelity to his new engagements. The cardinal's party, being thus ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of the governor and ſuch of his friends as followed him, proceeded to the coronation of the infant queen September 9th, when ſhe was only about ten months old [559]. A. D. 1543.

Henry was punctually informed of all theſe and many other events by his faithful reſident ſir Ralph Sadler, and plainly perceived that the predominant party were in the intereſt of France and Rome, and would not fulfil the treaty of marriage unleſs they were compelled. He reſolved therefore to renew the war, and began by encouraging the borderers to make incurſions into Scotland, and by ſeizing all the Scotch ſhips in the ports of England. *Breach with Scotland.*

[559] Sadler's Letters.

A.D.1543. land. This laſt meaſure (which was certainly very cruel) inflamed the rage of the Scots exceedingly, and rendered the whole nation almoſt unanimous againſt the marriage and peace with England. This diſpoſition of the people encouraged the governor, at the inſtigation of the cardinal, to call a parliament, which, on December 11th, declared that Henry, king of England, had violated the late treaty of peace, on conſideration of which the treaty of marriage between their queen and the prince of Wales had proceeded, by ſeizing the Scotch ſhips: "Therefore my lord governor and "the three eſtates in parliament have declared, "and do declare, the ſaid treaties to be expired, "and not to be kept in time coming, on the part "of Scotland, by law, equity, and reaſon[560]." On the ſame day two ambaſſadors from the king of France appeared in parliament, ſent, as they ſaid, by the moſt Chriſtian king, to renew all the antient treaties of friendſhip between France and Scotland, and to make new ones, and to offer them aſſiſtance to protect their queen and country againſt the king of England. The parliament appointed the cardinal, the earls of Argyle and Murray the lord St John, and ſir Adam Otterburn, to treat with the French ambaſſadors, for renewing the old and making a new alliance between the two nations[561]. Thus by the weakneſs of the governor of Scotland, the cunning of cardinal Beaton, and the paſſionate raſhneſs of the king of England, the pleaſing proſpect of peace and unity between

[560] Regiſters of Parliament, f. 103. [561] Ibid. f. 104.

the

the two Britiſh nations vaniſhed, and the flames of war were rekindled. A.D.1543.

To be provided for a war againſt both France and Scotland, the king aſſembled his parliament, January 14th, at Weſtminſter. On the 24th of that month the bill for confirming the change of the king's ſtyle, from lord of Ireland to king of Ireland, paſſed the houſe of peers, and was ſent to the commons, by whom it was alſo paſſed [562]. As the king intended to command his army in France, he thought proper to have the rule of ſucceſſion to the crown ſettled before his departure. A bill for that purpoſe was brought into the houſe of peers Febuary 7th, paſſed on the 9th, and ſent to the commons. No mention is made in the Journals of its being returned; but it appears from the liſt of the acts paſſed this ſeſſion, that it paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent. By this act the crown was ſettled, 1. On Edward prince of Wales and his lawful iſſue: 2. On the king's iſſue by his preſent, or any future queen: 3. On the princeſs Mary and her lawful iſſue: 4. On the princeſs Elizabeth and her lawful iſſue: and failing all theſe, on ſuch as the king pleaſed to appoint by letters patent, or by his laſt will [563]. The parliament did not grant any ſubſidies in this ſeſſion, but they did what was equally advantageous to the ſovereign, and much more unjuſt and oppreſſive to many of the ſubjects. They releaſed the king from all obligation to pay any ſums of money he A.D.1544. Parliament.

562 Journals, p. 240. Statutes, 25 Hen. VIII. c. 3.

563 Journals, p. 240. Statutes, Hen. VIII. c. 1. Herbert, p. 241.

had

A. D. 1544. had borrowed from any of his ſubjects on the ſecurity of privy ſeals; and if he had paid all or any part of any of theſe ſums, it was to be refunded; and if any perſon had ſold his privy ſeal to another, he was to reſtore the price [504]. There could not be a more groſs violation of the firſt and plaineſt principles of juſtice than this; and yet this was done by the king and parliament of England.

Invaſion of Scotland. Henry determined to begin his martial operations by a formidable invaſion of Scotland, then in a moſt miſerable and diſtracted ſtate, ſeveral of the chief nobility ſtill adhering to the Engliſh intereſt, and family feuds raging with the greateſt violence. Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, uncle to the prince of Wales, was appointed commander in chief, and marched to Newcaſtle with the army, which was there taken on board a fleet of two hundred ſhips, commanded by John Dudley lord Liſle, admiral of England, and landed May 4th near Leith without oppoſition. On the approach of the army to the town a conſiderable body of horſe appeared; but finding themſelves too weak to encounter an army ſo numerous and well appointed, they retreated, and the Engliſh entered Leith, where they found more valuable plunder than they expected. The next day the Engliſh army marched to Edinburgh, the inhabitants of which offered to ſurrender the town, on condition of ſecurity for their lives and properties. Theſe offers being rejected, they ſhut their gates, and excluded their enemies one day: but next morning

[504] Journals, p. 240. Statutes, 25 Hen. VIII. c. 12.

the

the Engliſh burſt open one of the gates, and finding the place almoſt quite deſerted, the ſoldiers were permitted to plunder it; and in that employment they ſpent three days, aſſiſted by ſix thouſand men, who had marched from Berwick. Having ſtripped the town of every thing that was valuable, they ſet it on fire in ſeveral places; and then plundered and burnt the towns, villages, and gentlemen's ſeats, in the neighbourhood. At length, weary with deſtroying, and loaded with booty, they returned to Leith, burnt that place, demoliſhed the mole, embarked May 15th, and ſet ſail. In their paſſage down the Firth they viſited all the ports on both ſides, and either burnt or carried off all the ſhipping. The army from Berwick returned to that place by land, marking their way with deſolation [565]. By this unexpected invaſion Henry did the Scots incredible miſchief, and ruined the richeſt part of their country; but this rough kind of courtſhip was ſo far from promoting the object he had in view, the union of the two kingdoms by the marriage of his ſon with the infant queen of Scotland, that it rendered that project perfectly deſperate. A.D. 1544.

It would be endleſs to trace the fluctuations of the Engliſh and French parties in Scotland at this time. Some of the nobility were almoſt daily changing ſides, as circumſtances varied. It may not be improper, however, to mention one of theſe changes, becauſe it was productive of important conſequences. After the earl of Lennox Treaty with the earl of Lennox.

[565] Hall, f. 258, Herbert, p. 242.

had

A.D.1544. had anſwered the purpoſe for which he had been recalled from France, and had intimidated the governor ſo much that he had abandoned the Engliſh and embraced the French party, he found himſelf neglected and ſlighted by the queen dowager and by cardinal Beaton. He found too, that his return to France was precluded by their miſrepreſentations, and that his brother, the lord Aubigny, was deprived of his employments and impriſoned. Irritated at this ungrateful treatment, the earl conveyed a hint to king Henry, that he was diſpoſed to eſpouſe his cauſe upon proper terms. In conſequence of this hint, Henry appointed the lord Wharton and ſir Robert Bowes his commiſſioners, to treat with the earl of Glencarne, Robert biſhop of Caithneſs, and Hugh Cunningham, commiſſioners of the earl of Lennox, the earl of Glencarne acting alſo for himſelf as a party. Theſe commiſſioners concluded a treaty, May 17th, at Carliſle. By this treaty the two earls engage, 1. To do every thing in their power to prevent the young queen's being ſtolen away and ſent out of the kingdom: 2. To endeavour to ſeize the perſon of the infant queen, and deliver her to Henry, to be educated in his court, and married to his ſon: 3. To labour to procure the protectorſhip of the kingdom of Scotland to Henry during the queen's minority. Henry, on his part, engaged, 1. To give the earl of Glencarne one thouſand crowns in hand, and ſoon after a penſion of 250l. a year to himſelf, and of 125l. a year to his eldeſt ſon: 2. To appoint the earl of Lennox

9 governor.

governor of Scotland under him when he had obtained the protectorſhip: 3. To ſupport the earl's ſucceſſion to the crown againſt the earl of Arran, if the young queen died without iſſue: 4. To give him his niece, the lady Margaret Douglas, in marriage [566]. By this marriage, which was ſoon after celebrated, the earl became grandfather to the firſt monarch of Great Britain. By a ſubſequent treaty, June 26th, the earl engaged to ſurrender the caſtle of Dumbarton and the iſland of Bute to Henry for an eſtate in England worth ſeventeen hundred marks a year; and the earl was furniſhed with a fleet of fourteen ſhips to carry ſix hundred men to garriſon the caſtle. But this enterpriſe was defeated by the patriotiſm of George Stirling of Gloral, captain of Dumbarton, who, though he was a friend to Lennox, was ſtill a greater friend to his country; for when he was informed that the caſtle was to be delivered to the Engliſh, he refuſed to ſurrender it, and obliged the earl to retire with precipitation [567]. A.D. 1544.

Theſe operations in Scotland did not divert Henry from his intended expedition into France, in conſequence of a plan that had been ſettled between him and the emperor in the preceding winter. Having appointed the queen regent of the kingdom, and ſent his army to the continent in three diviſions, the firſt commanded by the duke of Norfolk, the ſecond by the duke of Suffolk, the third by lord Ruſſel, the king, with a numerous train of nobles, went on board a beautiful ſhip, Boulogne taken.

[566] Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 22—26. 47. [567] Ibid. p. 29.

whoſe

A.D.1544. whoſe ſails were of cloth of gold, and landed July 14th at Calais. The firſt diviſion of the Engliſh, under Norfolk, joined the Imperial army; the ſecond and third inveſted Boulogne. Henry, after ſpending ſome time at Calais, joined his army before that place, which was ſurrendered, September 14th, on honourable terms [568].

End of the campaign. The king of France, ſenſible of his inability to contend long againſt two ſuch powerful adverſaries as the emperor and the king of England, endeavoured to diſunite them, and made application to each of them for a ſeparate peace. To Henry he wrote a letter with his own hand, deſiring a ſafe-conduct to the ambaſſadors he deſigned to ſend to treat of a peace. The ſafe-conduct was ſent, and the ambaſſadors arrived at a caſtle near the Engliſh camp, where the negotiation commenced [569]. But this negotiation was only intended to conceal a more ſerious one, that was carried on with great ſecrecy by the intervention of a Dominican friar, between Francis and the emperor, which terminated, September 19th, in a ſeparate peace between theſe two monarchs, without the leaſt regard to the king of England [570]. As ſoon as this peace was publiſhed, the French ambaſſadors broke off the conferences, and retired. The duke of Norfolk, who beſieged Montreuil, in conjunction with the Imperial troops, being abandoned by theſe troops on the peace, was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and rejoin the army at Boulogne with his diviſion. The emperor acted

[568] Herbert, p. 245. Rym. p. 52, &c. [569] Rym. p. 51.
[570] Hiſtoire de France, par Garnier, tom. xxv. p. 452.

on

on this, as on ſome other occaſions, in a very deceitful manner: he not only violated the ſolemn oath he had taken not to make peace without the participation of his ally, but after drawing that ally into a war, he abandoned him in a very dangerous ſituation. The Engliſh army was much diminiſhed by the two ſieges of Montreuil and Boulogne, and the garriſon put into the laſt of theſe places; and the dauphin was advancing by forced marches at the head of forty thouſand men to attack them. Henry, ſenſible of his danger, embarked at Boulogne September 30th, leaving the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to conduct the remains of the army to Calais, where they went on board a fleet ready for their reception October 9th, and ſailed for England [571]. Thus ended this campaign, which, at the opening of it, filled France with terror, and threatened it with the greateſt calamities. A.D. 1544.

Though Francis had great reaſon to rejoice at the diſſolution of the formidable confederacy that had been formed againſt him, he lamented the loſs, and ardently deſired the recovery of Boulogne. The dauphin attempted to retake it by ſurpriſe, and a part of his army got into the lower town in the night by the breaches before they were repaired; but the ſoldiers diſperſing in the dark in queſt of plunder, the Engliſh ruſhed down upon them from the high town, killed many, and put the reſt to flight [572]. Some other attempts that were made during the winter were equally unſuc- A.D. 1545. Attempts to retake Boulogne.

571 Herbert, p. 248. Rym. p. 57. 572 Herbert, p. 248.

A.D. 1545. ceſsful. When the dauphin's army retired, the marſhal de Buz was left with a conſiderable body of men near Boulogne to haraſs the garriſon, and to protect the workmen employed in building a fort at the mouth of the harbour, to prevent the admiſſion of ſupplies from England. But the earl of Hertford, having collected ſome troops from the neighbouring towns, formed a ſmall army, with which he aſſaulted the French under de Buz, and compelled them to retire to a greater diſtance with conſiderable loſs [573].

Benevolence. The taking of Boulogne occaſioned great rejoicings in England: but, like many other conqueſts, it was a real loſs to the kingdom. The acquiſition of it had coſt 586,718l. and the lives of ſome hundreds of brave men; and the reſolution to retain it, retarded the return of peace, and threatened the nation with a much greater loſs both of men and money. To repleniſh his exhauſted coffers, and prepare for another campaign, Henry had recourſe to the arbitrary illegal method of demanding a benevolence, and commiſſioners were appointed in all parts of the kingdom to perſuade, or rather to compel, the ſubjects to make the king a free gift. The commiſſioners for London, where the greateſt ſums were expected, met at Baynard's caſtle January 12th, but found an uncommon reluctance in the rich citizens to part with their money. To overcome this reluctance, it was thought neceſſary to employ ſome wholeſome ſeverities; and alderman Read, one of the richeſt

[573] Herbert, p. 249.

and

and moſt refractory citizens, was ſent as a common ſoldier into the army againſt Scotland [574]. A.D. 1545.

Military operations.

Francis having now only one enemy to contend with, determined to make one great effort for recovering Boulogne, and the other towns poſſeſſed by the Engliſh in France, and even for invading England. With that view he collected all the ſtout ſhips in the different ports of France, brought twenty-five gallies from the Mediterranean, and formed a fleet of two hundred ſail at Havre-de-Grace. An army embarked on board this fleet, which ſetting ſail arrived at St. Helen's July 18th, cannonaded the Engliſh fleet in Portſmouth Roads, and landed ſome troops on the Iſle of Wight. Theſe troops, after ſkirmiſhing ſome days with the militia of the country, re-embarked. They made ſimilar deſcents on the coaſts of Suſſex, but were every where repulſed; and finding that they could make no impreſſion on a country ſo well defended, this great fleet returned to the port from whence it had ſailed, without having effected any thing of importance. The land army of France, though numerous and well appointed, was not more ſucceſsful. After looking at Boulogne and Guiſnes, and not daring to beſiege either of them, that great army of almoſt forty thouſand men ravaged the defenceleſs country of Oye, from whence the garriſon of Calais uſed to get forage and proviſions, and then went into winter quarters [575]. Henry had taken into his pay ten thouſand lanſquinets and four thouſand horſe, levied in Germany; but the

[574] Herbert, p. 249. Rym. p. 84.

[575] Memoires du Bellai, tom. vi. p. 56, &c.

A.D. 1545. emperor refuſed them a paſſage through his territories. Diſappointed of ſo great a reinforcement, the Engliſh were obliged to remain on the defenſive all this campaign.

Francis, to cauſe a diverſion in the north of England, ſent Montgomery, lord of Lorges, into Scotland in the beginning of June this year, with three thouſand foot and five hundred horſe; and the Scots raiſed an army of fifteen thouſand, and, in conjunction with their French auxiliaries, marched to the Tweed, and ſent ſome flying parties to plunder the Engliſh borders. But though they were urged to it by the French commander, they could not be prevailed upon to invade England in a body; and after remaining on the borders till their proviſions were conſumed, they diſbanded and returned home. After their retreat, the earl of Hertford with twelve thouſand men, entered Scotland, and plundered the Merſe [576].

Parliament. Though Henry had lately extorted great ſums of money from his ſubjects, by what was very improperly called a benevolence, theſe ſums were far from being ſufficient for defraying the expences of his wars, and ſupplying his other wants: he had therefore recourſe to a parliament, that met at Weſtminſter November 23d, and granted him a ſubſidy of two ſhillings and eight pence in the pound on goods, and four ſhillings in the pound on lands, to be paid in two years. The clergy in convocation alſo granted him ſix ſhillings in the pound of their benefices, and that grant was confirmed

[576] Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, tom. iv. p. 328, &c.

by

by parliament. Not contented with all theſe, Henry A.D. 1545.
prevailed upon this liberal obſequious parliament to make him a ſtill more valuable and extraordinary grant. After the diſſolution of the monaſteries, there ſtill remained a great number of colleges, chapels, chantries, hoſpitals, and other fraternities of ſecular prieſts, endowed with lands, rents, and ſtipends, for ſaying a certain number of maſſes for the ſouls of their founders and their families. Henry had for ſome time paſt been tampering with the poſſeſſors of theſe foundations to ſurrender their endowments to the crown, and had in that way obtained the poſſeſſions of twenty-four of them. But that method was troubleſome and dilatory. The parliament at one blow diſſolved them all, and gave their houſes, lands, and goods of every kind, to the king [577]. Proſtitute as parliaments were at this time, it ſeems highly improbable that they meant to diſſolve the colleges in the two univerſities: but the act was conceived in ſuch general terms, that the colleges were alarmed, and applied to people in power for their protection. Their fears were ſoon diſpelled, by aſſurances that no harm was intended them [578]. Henry was ſo pleaſed with this parliament, that he honoured it with an uncommon mark of his regard, by delivering a long ſpeech from the throne to both houſes on December 24th, the laſt day of the ſeſſion: in that ſpeech he thanked them for their ſubſidy, and for their grant of the colleges, chapels, &c. which he valued more for

577 Statutes, 27 Hen. VIII.
578 Burnet, vol. i. p. 339. Rym. p. 65.

A.D. 1545. their love to him, from which they had proceeded, than for the money they would bring; and aſſured them, that he would make a better uſe of that money than they could either imagine or deſire. After many ſtrong profeſſions of extraordinary love to all his ſubjects, he reprimanded both the clergy and laity for giving one another bad names; and told them, that if they did not agree better, he would be obliged to chaſtiſe them [579].

A.D. 1546. Military operations. There were frequent ſkirmiſhes at the end of the laſt and the beginning of this year, between the French under marſhal de Buz and the Engliſh under the earl of Surry, governor of Boulogne. In one of theſe ſkirmiſhes the Engliſh ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs, and were put to flight. Henry, upon hearing this, recalled the earl of Surry, and appointed the lord Grey of Wilton governor in his room. Surry, an accompliſhed, brave, and high-ſpirited nobleman, was enraged at this affront beyond meaſure, and dropped ſome paſſionate threatening expreſſions, which were reported to the king, and increaſed his diſlike and jealouſy of the Norfolk family [580].

Peace with France. Two attempts had already been made to bring about a peace between France and England, but without ſucceſs. The French negotiators, on both theſe occaſions, obſtinately inſiſted on the reſtitution of Boulogne, and the comprehenſion of the Scots in the treaty; both which thoſe of England as obſtinately refuſed: for Henry paſſionately deſired to preſerve Boulogne as a monument of his

579 Hall, f. 261. 580 Rym. p. 85—90. Herbert, p. 254.

glory,

glory, and to be at liberty to take vengeance on the Scots, againſt whom he was greatly incenſed. But both princes were now ſo heartily tired of the war, and had ſo many reaſons to wiſh for peace, that they appointed their plenipotentiaries to meet at Campes, between Guiſnes and Ardres, where, on June 7th, a treaty of peace was concluded and ſigned. Beſides the uſual articles of the renewal of amity, commerce, &c. it was ſtipulated, that Francis ſhould pay to Henry and his ſucceſſors the penſions due by former treaties: that Henry ſhould keep poſſeſſion of Boulogne eight years without moleſtation; and at the end of theſe eight years Francis ſhould pay to the king of England two millions of crowns as the arrears of penſions, and the expence of keeping up and repairing the fortifications of Boulogne; and that when that ſum was paid, the king of England ſhould ſurrender Boulogne to the king of France. The Scots were comprehended in this peace; and Henry engaged not to make war upon them, if they did not give him ſome new provocation [581]. Francis ſwore to the obſervation of this treaty Auguſt 1ſt, before the Engliſh commiſſioners; as did Henry, on St. Bartholomew's day, before the commiſſioners of France [582]. The Scots accepted of the comprehenſion Auguſt 14th, with a ſaving of the rights of their queen, and the liberties of their country [583]. A.D. 1546.

Henry for ſeveral years had been growing more and more corpulent, and was now become very unwieldy The queen in danger.

[581] Rym. p. 94—98. [582] Ibid. p. 98. Hall, f. 262.
[583] Ep. R. S. tom. ii. p. 354.

A. D. 1546. wieldy and dropſical: he had beſides a ſore in one of his legs, to which the humours of his body flowed, and gave him great uneaſineſs. This rendered his temper, which was naturally paſſionate and impatient of contradiction, intolerably peeviſh and iraſcible. Few approached him without fear, or converſed with him without danger. To this diſeaſed irritability of temper his queen had almoſt fallen a ſacrifice. He was vain of his theological learning, and fond of diſplaying it in converſation. The queen, who ſecretly favoured the principles of the reformers, ſometimes ventured to ſtart objections to his arguments, and ſupported her objections with too much firmneſs and ability. This was more diſagreeable to the king than ſhe imagined; and, in a peeviſh humour, he complained of it to Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, and the lord chancellor Wriotheſly, who greedily ſeized the opportunity of inflaming his anger, by repreſenting the queen as a moſt dangerous heretic, and the great encourager of heretics; and wrought up his paſſion to ſuch a pitch, that he directed the lord chancellor to draw up articles of impeachment againſt her, which he ſigned. But the chancellor having dropped this paper, it was found by one who carried it to the queen. Alarmed at her danger, and ſuſpecting the cauſe of the king's diſpleaſure, ſhe reſolved to correct her error and regain his favour. When ſhe waited upon him, and he propoſed to renew the diſpute in which they had been engaged, ſhe modeſtly declined the combat, ſaying, that it did not become her, a weak woman,

woman, to diſpute with one who, by his ſuperior learning, was entitled to dictate not only to her, but to the whole world; and that if ever ſhe had pretended to diſpute any thing he advanced, it was for the ſake of information, and to engage him in diſcourſe, which diverted his pain, and from which ſhe received the greateſt inſtruction and delight. This ſeaſonable piece of flattery appeaſed his anger, and revived his affection. He embraced her tenderly, and aſſured her of his unchangeable favour and protection. Soon after this, as they were walking in the garden, the chancellor entered, followed by forty purſuivants, to ſeize the queen, and carry her to the Tower: but the king advanced to meet him, and, after treating him very roughly, calling him knave, fool, and beaſt, he commanded him to be gone. The queen interpoſed in his favour; to whom Henry ſaid, ſmiling: "Poor ſoul! you know not how little this "man deſerves your good offices [584]." The queen having made this fortunate eſcape, took care not to renew the diſpute with ſo dangerous an antagoniſt. A.D. 1546.

The king's jealous and violent ſpirit proved more fatal to two of his greateſt ſubjects, the duke of Norfolk and his ſon the earl of Surry. The duke had long enjoyed a very high degree of favour, and had merited that favour by the moſt important ſervices to his country, and the moſt unlimited compliance with the king's will in all things, even in oppoſition to his religious principles, his family, and party con- The duke of Norfolk and the earl of Surry impriſoned.

[584] Knox, vol. ii. p. 58. Speed, p. 780. Herbert, p. 263. Burnet, p. 344.

nexions.

A. D. 1546. nexions. His high deſcent, his noble alliances, his places of power and profit, his immenſe eſtate, and his numerous followers, rendered him by far the greateſt and moſt powerful ſubject in the kingdom, if not too great and powerful for a ſubject. Though he had complied with all the changes in the church to pleaſe the king, he was zealouſly attached to the ancient eſtabliſhment, and was the head of the popiſh party, which added greatly to his influence. His daughter had been married to the king's natural and beloved ſon the duke of Richmond. Two of his nieces had been queens, and he had abandoned them both, the innocent as well as the guilty, to gratify the king's paſſions, and preſerve his favour. Notwithſtanding all theſe circumſtances, which ſeemed to render his greatneſs perfectly ſecure, he and his ſon were both arreſted in one day, December 7th, and conducted to the Tower, without having apprehended themſelves to have been in any danger, and without knowing of one another's misfortunes. At what time, and for what reaſons, Henry conceived this violent animoſity againſt the duke and his ſon, who had ſo long poſſeſſed his favour, it is impoſſible to diſcover with certainty. His enmity againſt them could not have been of an old date, as he had a little time before given them eſſential proofs of his confidence and favour, particularly by appointing the earl of Surry governor of Boulogne. The crimes of which they were accuſed, if crimes they can be called, were ſo frivolous, that they could not be the real cauſes of a wrath ſo violent and implacable: it ſeems probable that it was their greatneſs rather than

than their guilt, and the king's exceſſive jealouſy, A.D. 1546.
inflamed by artful whiſperers, that involved them in this diſtreſs. Theſe whiſperers were the more dangerous, that they were of the duke's own family, which was unhappily divided. He had been ſeparated ſome years from his ducheſs, who was his moſt inveterate enemy; and the earl of Surry was at variance with his ſiſter, the ducheſs of Richmond; and both theſe ladies gave every information they could, the one againſt her huſband, and the other againſt her brother, putting the worſt conſtruction on all their words and actions [585]. Some other perſons, who bore no good-will to the duke and his ſon, as Elizabeth Holland, who had been the duke's miſtreſs, ſir Richard Southwell, and ſir Edmund Knivet, contributed to increaſe the king's jealouſy, by reporting ſome of their expreſſions of anger and diſcontent. A dryneſs had alſo taken place between them and the Seymour family, who, on account of their near relation to the prince, expected to have the chief direction of affairs in the next reign, and dreaded their great power and ambitious ſpirit [586].

The earl of Surry, being a commoner, was A.D. 1547. The earl of Surry beheaded.
tried at Guildhall January 13th; before the lord chancellor, the lord mayor, and other commiſſioners, by a jury of commoners. The chief thing laid to his charge was, his quartering the arms of Edward the Confeſſor, which was conſidered as a proof of his aſpiring to the throne. To this he anſwered, that his anceſtors had borne thoſe arms,

585 Herbert, p. 264. 586 Ibid.

and

A. D. 1547. and that he was authoriſed to bear them by the heralds. It was proved, that he kept certain Italians in his family, who were ſuſpected to be ſpies; that he converſed much with foreigners, which made it probable that he correſponded with cardinal Pole; that he had dropped ſome expreſſions reflecting upon the king and his government, which indicated a deſign to raiſe a rebellion. To theſe ſtrange accuſations he made acute, ingenious, and ſpirited anſwers. But his acuteneſs, ingenuity, and boldneſs, and even his innocence, availed him nothing. He was found guilty of high treaſon, for which, on January 19th, he was beheaded [587].

Duke of Norfolk attainted.

The duke of Norfolk diſcovered an extreme anxiety to ſave his own life, and the honours and fortunes of his family after his commitment. With this view, he wrote a very pathetic and affecting letter to the king, containing the moſt ſolemn proteſtations of his innocence and loyalty, and the moſt earneſt ſupplications for mercy. Finding that had no effect, he went to the other extreme, of aggravating his own guilt, and the guilt of his unhappy ſon, in a confeſſion he emitted before a committee of the privy council [588]; but without avail: Henry was implacable. The parliament met January 14th; and on the 18th of that month the day before the earl of Surry was beheaded, a bill was brought into the houſe of peers for attainting Thomas duke of Norfolk and his ſon Henry earl of Surry, and read a firſt time. On the 19th it was read a ſecond time, and on the 20th it was read a

[587] Herbert, p. 264. [588] Ibid. p. 265, 266.

third

third time and paſſed, and ſent to the commons, A. D. 1547.
from whom it was returned on the 24th. So impatient was Henry in his laſt moments to accompliſh the ruin of a nobleman connected with him by many endearing ties, who had done him many important ſervices, and had complied with his will in all things during his whole reign. The bill received the royal aſſent by commiſſion on Thurſday the 27th, and on Friday the 28th, early in the morning, the king died. The parliament met on the Saturday and did buſineſs; and was prorogued to Monday the laſt of January; and on that day the commons being ſent for to the houſe of peers, the chancellor acquainted both houſes, that king Henry VIII. had died on the Friday before, early in the morning. The late king's laſt will was read, and the parliament was diſſolved [s30]. The death of the king ſaved the duke of Norfolk's life; as it was not thought proper to begin the new reign with an execution of the firſt nobleman in the kingdom.

Henry's laſt will was dated December 30th, A. D. 1546; and as he was authoriſed by an act of parliament to regulate by his teſtament the ſucceſſion to the crown, it came to be a matter of great importance at that time, and a ſubject of no little controverſy afterwards. Accordingly, by his teſtament written on paper, he bequeathed his crown and dominions to his ſon prince Edward and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten; failing ſuch Henry's laſt will.

[s30] Journals, vol. i. p. 287—291.

heirs,

A. D. 1547. heirs, to his daughter the princeſs Mary and her heirs; failing theſe, to his daughter the princeſs Elizabeth and her heirs; failing theſe, to the lady Fraunces, eldeſt daughter of his late ſiſter the French queen, and her heirs; failing theſe, to the lady Eleanor, youngeſt daughter of the French queen and her heirs; and failing theſe, to his next lawful heir [590]. His two daughters Mary and Elizabeth being unmarried, it was declared, that if they married without the conſent of his executors, or the major part of them, they ſhould loſe their right to the ſucceſſion, and be conſidered as being dead without lawful heirs. If this was really the laſt will of Henry VIII. this part of it appears to have been dictated by paſſion, rather than by a regard to juſtice: for by it the heirs of his eldeſt ſiſter, Margaret queen of Scotland, were put out of the natural order of ſucceſſion, if not altogether excluded. To this queen he gave 3000l. in plate and jewels, and 1000l. in money beſides her jointure. To each of his two daughters he gave 10,000l. in plate, jewels, and furniture, as a marriage portion, and an annuity of 3000l. to live upon while they were unmarried. He gave conſiderable legacies to each of his ſixteen executors, and to forty-ſix other noblemen and gentlemen. He did not forget to appoint a great number of maſſes to be ſaid for the health of his ſoul [591]. Objections have been made to the genuineneſs of this will; but they ſeem only to make it probable that it was

[590] Rym. tom. xv. p. 110—117. [591] Ibid.

made

made in haſte, and that Henry was aſſiſted in the writing of his ſubſcription [592]. A. D. 1547.

When this will was made, Henry was in ſo great diſtreſs, that it was viſible to all about him that he could not long ſurvive; but ſo awful was his character, and ſo dreadful his diſpleaſure, that none dared to give him the leaſt hint of his approaching diſſolution. At length, when it was evident that he had not many hours to live, ſir Anthony Denny had the courage to acquaint him that his death was drawing near, and to aſk him if they ſhould ſend for any clergyman. He replied, If any, Cranmer; who was at Croydon. When he arrived, the king was ſpeechleſs; but knowing him, he gave him his hand. Being deſired by Cranmer, to give ſome ſign that he died in the hopes of ſalvation through the mercy of God and the merits of Jeſus Chriſt, he ſqueezed his hand and expired, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth year of his reign [593].

Henry was ſix times married. Two of his queens were beheaded; two of them divorced; one of them died ſoon after her marriage, poſſeſſed of her huſband's affections; the laſt, after narrowly eſcaping the block, ſurvived him. By his firſt queen, Catharine of Spain, he had two ſons who died in their infancy, and one daughter, named Mary, afterwards queen of England. By his ſecond queen, Anne Boleyn, he had one daughter, named Elizabeth, who ſucceeded her ſiſter in the Marriages and iſſue.

[592] Burnet, b iii Records, No. xxx. Hubin on Hereditary Right, &c. p 186—208. [593] Burnet, p. 349.

throne.

A. D. 1547. throne. By his third queen, Jane Seymour, he had one ſon, named Edward, his immediate ſucceſſor. By his laſt three queens he had no iſſue. By Elizabeth Blount, daughter of ſir John Blount, he had a natural ſon named Henry, of whom he was exceedingly fond. Before he was ſeven years of age he made him a knight of the garter, created him earl of Nottingham, duke of Richmond and Somerſet, appointed him warden of the marches towards Scotland, and granted him many great eſtates. This young prince, who was univerſally admired for the beauty of his perſon, the variety of his accompliſhments, and the excellence of his diſpoſitions, was married to the lady Mary Howard, daughter of the duke of Norfolk, but died before the conſummation of his marriage, when he was only about ſeventeen years old.

His character.

Very different characters have been given of Henry VIII. by different authors. Some have repreſented him as a brave, wiſe, juſt, and merciful prince, with few vices or imperfections; while others have painted him in the blackeſt colours, as a cruel unrelenting tyrant, with few or no virtues or good qualities[594]. Thoſe, however, who have delineated his character with the greateſt care and candour, have purſued a middle courſe, by doing juſtice to his good actions and commendable qualifications, while they have not overlooked his criminal paſſions and his vices[595]. The following ſhort deſcription of the moſt ſtriking features in the

[594] Lewis's Patriot King. Strype, vol. i. p. 390, 391. 404—407. Sir Walter Raleigh's Pref. [595] Herbert, p. 266, 267. Burnet, p. 362.

character

character of this prince may, it is imagined, be A. D. 1547.
juſtified by authentic monuments and the real tranſactions of his reign. He was very tall, and in his youth he was uncommonly handſome, ſtrong, and active. He delighted and excelled in all manly exerciſes; as riding, tilting, hunting, hawking, leaping, wreſtling, &c. His gait was ſtately, and his air majeſtic. "Who," ſays a contemporary writer, "is ſo dull as not to ſee in that moſt ſerene "countenance the ſigns of a king? Who can "behold, even afar off, that auguſt majeſty of his "whole perſon, and not ſay he was born to a "diadem [596]." Theſe perſonal charms and accompliſhments being viſible to all, gained him great admiration and popularity in the firſt part of his reign. He was fond of muſic, a good performer on ſeveral inſtruments, and no contemptible compoſer [597]. Great pains had been taken with his education, and he had a genius capable of acquiring knowledge. He ſpoke ſeveral languages fluently, particularly Latin and French: but unfortunately his favourite ſtudy was ſchool divinity; in which he imagined himſelf ſo great a doctor, that he entered the liſts with Martin Luther, in his famous book *De Septem Sacramentis;* for which he received ſuch a deluge of praiſe as no author of an inferior rank muſt ever expect. We have no reaſon to ſuſpect that he was deficient in perſonal courage, though he was not forward in expoſing himſelf to danger. His underſtanding was good when it was not blinded by ſome reigning paſſion. The truth ſeems to be,

[596] Morriſon's Apomaxis. [597] Sir John Hawkins.

A.D.1547. that the ungovernable impetuoſity of his paſſions was the great defect in his character, the ſource of all his errors and of all his crimes. In his youth the love of pleaſure was his reigning paſſion, and an extravagant fondneſs for royal feaſts, tilts, tournaments, diſguiſing, and the other pompous expenſive diverſions of the great in thoſe times. About theſe he employed his thoughts: in theſe he ſpent his time, and ſquandered away the treaſures that had been hoarded by his father [598]. To this he was alſo prompted by his vanity, and encouraged by his miniſters, particularly by his great favourite, cardinal Wolſey, for very obvious reaſons. As he advanced in years, and began to interfere more in buſineſs, paſſions of a darker complexion and more dangerous tendency appeared. From his father he inherited an extreme jealouſy of all who were related to the royal family, and could be ſuppoſed to entertain the moſt diſtant thoughts of the throne. To this ſeveral perſons of high rank fell a ſacrifice. His exceſſive ſelf-conceit, and the high opinion he entertained of his own ſuperior wiſdom, though it was rather a ridiculous than a criminal paſſion, had the very worſt effects. It rendered him ſuſceptible, or rather greedy, of flattery, and highly pleaſed with praiſe, with which he was accoſted on all occaſions. The two great parties, the friends of the pope and the favourers of the reformation, tried to exceed one another in the arts of flattery, and in a ſervile compliance with all his humours, which rendered him intolerably proud, obſtinate, and im-

[598] See Hall's Chronicle, paſſim.

patient

patient of contradiction. This alſo increaſed his authority, ſubjected both theſe parties to his will, and put it in his power to do whatever he pleaſed. The court that was paid him by the two great rivals, the emperor and the king of France, contributed ſtill further to inflame his pride; and in ſpite of all his faults, it rendered him popular among his own ſubjects, who were pleaſed to ſee their ſovereign the arbiter of Europe. Though prodigality and avarice are oppoſite paſſions, they are often found in the ſame perſon; and Henry was both profuſe and covetous in the extreme. Of his prodigality, the immenſe ſums he ſquandered are a ſufficient proof; and his hiſtory affords many evidences of his avarice. At two different times he borrowed great ſums from many of his ſubjects, and procured acts from his ſervile parliaments, abſolving him from the obligation of repaying them, though he had given his creditors ſecurity under the privy ſeal. But of all his paſſions, his anger was the moſt terrible. When he conceived a jealouſy or diſlike of any perſon, their ruin was reſolved; no ſubmiſſions, no ſupplications, no interceſſions, no evidences of their innocence, could ſave them from deſtruction. In a word, the character he is ſaid to have given of himſelf, "That he had never ſpared a man in his anger, "nor a woman in his luſt," ſeems to be too well founded; and they are not inexcuſable who have denominated him a tyrant, if they had not forgotten to add, that he was poſſeſſed of many valuable A. D. 1547.

A. D. 1547. accompliſhments; capable at times of generous and laudable actions, and of kind affections; and that he had been an inſtrument in the hand of Providence of much good to his ſubjects and their poſterity, by diſſolving their connection with the court and church of Rome.

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I. PART II.

The Civil and Military Hiſtory of Scotland, from the Acceſſion of James IV. A. D. 1488, to the Death of James V. A. D. 1542.

SECTION I.

From the Acceſſion of James IV. A. D. 1488, *to the Acceſſion of James V.* A. D. 1513.

A.D. 1488. Affairs of Scotland and England interwoven.

THE hiſtories of England and Scotland were ſo much interwoven in this period, that it was impoſſible to diſentangle them on all occaſions. This is the reaſon that ſeveral of the moſt important events in the hiſtory of Scotland have been related at full length in the firſt part of this

A. D. 1488. chapter, which will ſhorten this ſecond part; as a ſlight mention of theſe events in their proper places will be ſufficient.

Death of James III. unknown.

The fate of the unfortunate king James III. was for ſome time unknown, both to his friends and enemies. The former hoped, and the latter feared, that he had eſcaped to a ſmall fleet commanded by ſir Andrew Wood of Largo, that lay in the Forth, only a few miles from the field of battle. The leaders of the victorious army ſent a meſſage to ſir Andrew Wood to come and ſpeak with the prince at Leith, which he refuſed to do till they gave the lords Seaton and Fleming as hoſtages for his ſafe return. When ſir Andrew appeared before the prince and his council at Leith, he was aſked, if he knew what was become of the king; to which he anſwered in the negative. He was then aſked, who were in thoſe boats that had been ſeen plying between his ſhips and the ſhore ſoon after the late battle. To which he replied, That he and a party of his men had come on ſhore to aſſiſt their ſovereign againſt his rebellious ſubjects; but hearing that the battle was over, they returned to their ſhips. To this he added, that if his gracious maſter was ſtill alive, he would defend him to the utmoſt of his power againſt all traitors. This bold declaration was very diſagreeable to thoſe who heard it; but their concern for their hoſtages made them diſmiſs him without any injury [1].

Coronation, &c.

The king's death did not long remain a ſecret; and the prince was crowned June 24th at Edin-

[1] Buchanan, lib. xiii. Abercromby, vol. ii.

burgh,

burgh, in the ſixteenth year of his age [2]. Few of the nobles or great barons were preſent at this ſolemnity, except thoſe who had taken arms againſt the late king. The reſt of the nobility, particularly thoſe of the north and weſt, were greatly offended and grieved at theſe tranſactions; and ſince they were too late to preſerve the life, reſolved to revenge the death, of their ſovereign, and to deliver the young king from the murderer of his father. In the mean time the predominant party were very active in improving and ſecuring the advantage they had gained. The caſtle of Edinburgh ſurrendered on being ſummoned by a herald; and the cuſtody of it was committed to the lord Hales [3]. They obtained many valuable grants of lands, honours, and offices from the king, or rather gave them to one another [4]. The brave and patriotic ſir Andrew Wood was prevailed upon, by perſuaſions, favours, and promiſes, to attack and take five Engliſh ſhips that had been ſent to the aſſiſtance of the late king, but now infeſted the coaſts and interrupted the commerce of the Forth [5]. A. D. 1488.

Penitence of the king.

The young king was conducted to the caſtle of Stirling, of which ſir John Lundy, one of the party, was appointed governor. While he reſided there, and had leiſure for reflection, he began to feel great remorſe for the part he had acted againſt his indulgent father. He communicated

[2] Holling. p. 287. [3] Black Acts, f. 83.
[4] Regiſter of the great ſeal, 1 James IV. [5] Buchan. lib. xiii.

A.D. 1488. the uneaſineſs of his mind to the dean of the chapel royal; and it was probably by his advice that he began to wear a chain of iron about his body, to which he added a new link every year [a].

A parliament.

The penitence of the prince could not be very pleaſing to the partners, or rather authors, of his guilt. To ſecure themſelves from puniſhment, they thought it prudent to procure the approbation of parliament while they were in power. A parliament was accordingly ſummoned to meet at Edinburgh October 6th; and by their 14th act, intituled, "The Propoſition of the Debait of the "Field of Striviling," it is declared, "that the "ſlaughter committed and done in the field of "Striviling, quhare our ſoverane lord's father "happened to bi ſlane, and uthers divers his bar-"ronis and liegis, was allutterly in thair default, "and colourit deſſait done be him and his perverſt "counſell, divers times before the ſaid field; and "that our ſoverane lord that now is, and that the "trew lordis and barrones that was with him in the "ſamen field, war innocent, free and quyte, of the "ſaid ſlauchters done in the ſaid field, and all per-"ſuit of the occaſioun and cauſe of the ſamen." This parliament conſiſted chiefly of thoſe true lords and barons (as they called themſelves) who had taken arms againſt their ſovereign, without any juſt or even plauſible reaſon, and had put him and many of his loyal ſubjects to death, of which they gravely declared themſelves innocent,

[a] Pit's Collec. p. 96.

though

though all the world knew they were guilty. Copies of this act, ſealed with the great ſeal, and the ſeals of all the members of this parliament, were ordered to be ſent to the pope, and to the kings of France, Spain, and Denmark [7]. Having thus acquitted themſelves, they took care to puniſh thoſe who had hazarded their lives in battle for the late king; but, for very obvious reaſons, they did this with moderation [8]. A.D. 1488.

Several noblemen and gentlemen who highly diſapproved the conduct of the prevailing party, yet ſeeing the rightful heir upon the throne, thought it prudent to ſubmit to what could not be retrieved. Others breathed nothing but revenge, and determined to reſcue their prince from thoſe who had taken advantage of his youth, and betrayed him into a rebellion againſt his father. Alexander lord Forbes, attended by his vaſſals, carried the late king's ſhirt, all torn and bloody, on the point of a ſpear, through Aberdeen and other places, calling upon all the ſubjects to ariſe and revenge the ſlaughter of their ſovereign. The lord Gordon and other chieftains in the north were no leſs active in raiſing their followers. The earl of Lennox was the firſt that took the field, and marched from the weſt at the head of two thouſand men to join his confederates in the north. But he was ſurpriſed and defeated by the Lord Drummond, as he and his men lay in a careleſs manner on the banks of the Forth, a few miles above Stirling. This ſo diſcouraged the inſurgents in the A. D. 1489. Inſurrection.

[7] Black Acts, f. 83. [8] Ibid. f. 80.

north,

A. D. 1489. north, that they diſbanded and retired to their own homes [9]. The earl of Lennox, and the other leaders of this inſurrection having made their ſubmiſſions, were pardoned and received into favour, which reſtored tranquillity to the country, and gave ſtability to the government.

Henry VII. from the day of his acceſſion cultivated peace with Scotland; and to render it more ſolid and permanent, negotiated ſeveral intermarriages between the two royal families [10]. But the death of James III. put an end to all theſe ſchemes: for though it had been agreed that James, then prince of Scotland, ſhould be married to one of the daughters of Edward IV. no regard was paid to that agreement; and in the firſt parliament of this reign a tax was impoſed to defray the expences of a ſplendid embaſſy to be ſent into France, Spain, and other countries, to find out a proper match for the young king [11]. Henry, however, ſtill perſiſted in his pacific views; and the truce then ſubſiſting between the two nations was uncommonly well obſerved. He even granted a protection to his well-beloved friend (as he calls him) Archibald earl of Angus, (February 12th, A. D. 1490,) who had been the chief inſtrument of the late revolution in Scotland, to paſs through England in his way to Amiens, with eighty perſons in company [12].

A. D. 1490. Parliament. A parliament met at Edinburgh February 15th, which may be called the healing parliament. It

[9] Buchan. ibid.
[10] See vol. v. p. 318.
[11] Black Acts, f. 79.
[12] Rym. tom. xii. p. 358.

made an act for extinguiſhing the party and family feuds of the nobility, and uniting them in the cauſe of their king and country. Several wiſe regulations were made for collecting the royal revenues, particularly the rents of the crown lands; and ſome of the principal noblemen and gentlemen were appointed to ſuperintend the collection of them in their ſeveral diſtricts. A committee was commiſſioned to examine the public accompts. A privy council, conſiſting of two biſhops, two abbots, and ſix lords, was choſen; and ten other lords and gentlemen were appointed to aſſiſt the council, when they happened to be at court, or when they were called; and all the great officers, as the lord chancellor, the maſter of the houſehold, the chamberlain, privy ſeal, ſecretary, and clerk regiſter, were declared to be of the privy council, in virtue of their offices: and the king, it is ſaid, "had humblit his hieneſs to promit and grant in "parliament, to abyde and remane at thair coun- "ſalles quhill the next parliament." The king further conſented, that no gifts, ſignatures, remiſſions, or other letters, ſhould paſs without the advice and conſent of the lords of the ſecret council; and that all ſuch letters ſhould be ſubſcribed by the king, and as many of the council as were preſent, to the number of ſix at the feweſt, of which the chancellor ſhould be one; and that all letters not thus ſubſcribed ſhould be null, and of no effect. An act of revocation of the grants of the young king ſince his acceſſion was alſo made. This was a ſelf-denying ordinance in the predominant A. D. 1490.

A. D. 1490. ſtant party; but it is probable that it was not very ſtrictly executed, like many other acts of the ſame kind in both the Britiſh kingdoms. Embaſſies were appointed to be ſent into France, Spain, and Denmark, for renewing the ancient alliances with theſe ſtates, and obtaining commercial privileges. Several wiſe laws were made for the ſtrict obſervation of the truce with England, the due adminiſtration of juſtice, and protecting the poor from oppreſſion; for regulating the coining of money; encouraging the fiſheries, &c. In a word, it will be difficult to find an aſſembly animated with a better ſpirit, and that made a greater number of wiſe and patriotic laws than this parliament [13]. Archibald Bell-the-cat, the potent and turbulent earl of Angus, was not preſent: he had probably ſet out on his pilgrimage to Amiens, to obtain the pardon of his ſins.

A. D. 1491. A plot. The internal tranquillity of the kingdom was now perfectly reſtored, and the animoſity of the two parties, into which it had been divided, ſeemed to have been extinguiſhed; when a plot was formed, which, if it had been ſucceſsful, would have involved both the king and kingdom in great diſtreſs. John Ramſay, lord Bothwell, and Sir Thomas Todd of Shereſhaws, two of the late king's favourite ſervants, retired into England after his death, and meditated revenge. Having obtained acceſs to king Henry, they propoſed, by the aſſiſtance of their friends in Scotland, with whom they kept up a private correſpondence, to deliver the king of

[13] Black Acts, f. 84—90.

Scots,

Scots, and his brother the duke of Roſs, into his hands, and deſired only ſome pecuniary aid. Henry had neither the virtue to reject this baſe propoſal, nor generoſity to grant them any thing conſiderable. An indenture was made at Greenwich April 16th, A. D. 1491, "betwene the right excellent and myghty prince Henry, by the grace of God, king of Englond and of Fraunce, and lord of Irland, on the one partie; and John lord Bothwell and ſir Thomas Toddee, knight of the realme of Scotland, as well for and in name of themſelves, as alſo of dyvers other named in the ſaid indentures on the other partie. A. D. 1491.

"It is, for dyvers conſiderations in the ſame indentures declared, amonges other things expreſſely ſhewed, that the right honourable Jamys erle of Boughan, and the ſaide ſir Thomas, ſhall take, bringe, and delyver into the ſaide king of Englondis handes the king of Scottes now reynyng, and his brother the duke of Roos, or at the teſte the ſaide king of Scotland.

"The ſaide king of Englond, by way of ayde and aſſiſtence, geving them for th' achiving theire ſaid purpoſe, hath lent and delyverd unto the ſaid ſir Thomas, as well for the ſaide erle of Boughan as for themſelve, the ſome of CCLXVII. XIIIS. IVd. &c. [14]"

The paltry ſum of 266l. 13s. 4d. was to be repaid at Michaelmas, and ſir Thomas Todd gave his ſon and heir as a hoſtage for the repayment.

[14] Rym. tom. xii. p. 440.

It

A. D. 1491. It is difficult to form any judgment of this ſtrange tranſaction. If Henry had either deſired or hoped to get poſſeſſion of the perſon of the king of Scotland, he would certainly have afforded a more liberal aid to the conſpirators. It is hardly credible that the earl of Buchan would engage in the baſe deſign of betraying his king, who was his relation, to a foreign prince. It ſeems to me moſt probable, that the two unhappy exiles, Bothwell and Todd, were reduced to great diſtreſs, and that they fell upon this device to procure a preſent ſupply of money. However theſe things may be, we hear of no ſteps that were taken towards the execution of this plot, and it remained a profound ſecret till the above paper was publiſhed by Mr. Rymer, A. D. 1711.

Parliament. In a parliament that met at Edinburgh 18th May, Patrick Hepburn lord Hales, who had lately been created earl of Bothwell with the biſhop and dean of Glaſgow, were appointed ambaſſadors to the courts of France and Spain, for two ſpecial purpoſes: Firſt, To find out a proper match, and negotiate a marriage for the king, for which they were to be furniſhed with full powers: Secondly, To renew the ancient alliances with theſe ſtates, and obtain additional privileges, for which inſtructions were to be given them, with the approbation of the king and his council [15]. Embaſſies for the ſame purpoſes had been appointed by the two preceding parliaments, but had not been ſent; the reaſon of

[15] Black Acts, f. 90.

which

which ſeems to have been this: The king, when prince, and all thoſe who had joined with him againſt his father, had been excommunicated by the pope; and an embaſſy from a prince, in theſe circumſtances, could not have expected a favourable reception in any catholic court. Application had been made to the court of Rome for a revocation of that ſentence, and a bull of revocation was now daily expected. Accordingly, Andrew Foreman, who had ſolicited the cauſe of his king and countrymen, and was in great favour with pope Alexander VI., not long after returned to Scotland, and brought a conſecrated roſe of gold, with a conſolatory letter from the pope to the king, dated at Rome June 27th, A. D. 1491, exhorting him to mitigate his ſorrow for the part he had reluctantly acted againſt his father, and to apply himſelf to the cultivation of honour, piety, and virtue. He brought alſo a bull, empowering the abbots of Paiſley and Jedburgh to abſolve all who had rebelled againſt the late king, upon profeſſing their repentance for what they had done [16]. Sir James Oglevey of Airley was appointed ambaſſador to the court of Denmark, to remove any umbrage that might have been taken at the late proceedings, to renew the ancient alliances, and to procure commercial privileges; and he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that he was created a peer on his return. This parliament made ſeveral wiſe laws for the A. D. 1491.

[16] Regiſter Office, Edin. Abercromby, vol. xi. p. 497. Hollingſh. p. 409.

improve-

A. D. 1491. improvement, defence, and good government of the kingdom.

Truce. The laſt truce between the two Britiſh nations was now near expiring; but as they were both cordially inclined to peace, the commiſſioners of the two kings met at Coldſtream in December this year, and, on the 21ſt of that month, concluded and ſigned a new truce for five years from that day, with all the uſual articles, and with ſome new ones to render it more effectual [17].

Peaceable times. Scotland, for ſome years, enjoyed external peace and internal tranquillity, and its youthful monarch ſpent one part of his time in viſiting the different provinces of his kingdom, accompanied by his council, to enforce the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice and the due execution of the laws; and the reſt of it in the ſports of the field, and in thoſe manly and martial exerciſes that were the favourite amuſements of the great in thoſe times. Happy are the times in which the great are thus employed, though they furniſh few of the materials of which hiſtory is commonly compoſed.

A. D. 1493. Parliament. A great number of excellent laws and regulations were made in a parliament that met at Edinburgh, June 16th, A. D. 1493. We ſhall have an opportunity of conſidering ſeveral of theſe laws in the ſubſequent chapters of this book. It is ſufficient to ſay of them in general in this place, that the makers of them appear to have been real patriots, and to have been well acquainted with the true intereſts of their country; and that thoſe writers

[17] Rym. tom. xii. p. 465.

who

who have repreſented our anceſtors in this period as rude and ignorant, and little better than barbarians, have not done them juſtice [18]. A. D. 1493.

Henry VII. ſtill continued to diſcover great anxiety to preſerve the peace of Scotland. With this view he gave a commiſſion, 28th May this year, to Richard biſhop of St. Aſaph; William Tyler, governor of Berwick; Henry Eyenſworth; and John Carlington; to treat with the commiſſioners of the king of Scots about a perpetual peace, or a long truce: and to render the peace or truce more ſolid, he authoriſed them to propoſe a marriage between that king and the princeſs Catherine, grand-daughter of his uncle Edmund duke of Somerſet [19]. King James granted a commiſſion June 22d, to William biſhop of Aberdeen; John Roſs, of Montgrenan; John Freſale, dean of the king's chapel of Reſtalrig; and Richard Lawſon, clerk of juſticiary, to treat with the commiſſioners of the king of England about the prolongation of the truce; but he gave them no authority to treat of a perpetual peace, or of a marriage [20]. The commiſſioners of the two kings met at Edinburgh June 25th, and prolonged the truce to the laſt day of April, A. D. 1501, without making any mention of a peace or marriage [21]. King James at this time, and for ſeveral years after, ſeems to have had an averſion to Henry, and to have been determined againſt a marriage with an

[18] Black Acts, f. 94.
[19] Rym. tom. xii. p. 531.
[20] Ibid. p. 537.
[21] Ibid. p. 534.

A. D. 1493. Engliſh princeſs. But he, very fortunately for Britain, changed his mind.

Commiſſions. Though the truce was thus prolonged, and Henry had paid to James one thouſand marks for damages pretended to have been done to his ſubjects at ſea, but in reality to gain his friendſhip, he was ſtill apprehenſive of a breach with Scotland, and in order to prevent it, he appointed commiſſioners May 22d to meet with thoſe of the king of Scots, to remove all cauſes of quarrel, and to ſettle a perpetual peace between the two kingdoms [22]. He granted alſo a ſafe-conduct to commiſſioners from the king of Scots July 28th [23]. But we hear of nothing that was done in conſequence of theſe commiſſions, and it is probable the commiſſioners never met.

A. D. 1495. Negotiations. Henry had now good reaſon to ſuſpect, and had received intelligence, that James's diſpoſitions were unfriendly. He took care, therefore, to put the north in a proper poſture of defence. He gave a commiſſion, March 22d, to Thomas earl of Surry, to array all the able-bodied men between the rivers Trent and Tweed; and at the ſame time he gave a ſimilar commiſſion to Richard Fox, biſhop of Durham, for the counties of Durham and Northumberland. In theſe commiſſions he acquainted them, that he had received intelligence that his enemies of Scotland and of foreign parts intended to invade the north of England with a great army [24]. He appointed his ſecond ſon,

[22] Rym. tom. xii. p. 554. [23] Ibid. [24] Ibid. p. 568.

prince

prince Henry, warden of the eaſt, middle, and weſt marches; and conſtituted Thomas earl of Surry; Richard biſhop of Durham; ſir William Tyler, captain of Berwick; John Heron, of Ford; and John Carlington, his deputies, May 22d, with full powers to hear the complaints and redreſs all the injuries that had been done to the Scots by any of his ſubjects, and to puniſh thoſe who had done them. At the ſame time he directed them to array and exerciſe all the men in the northern counties, and to place watches in proper places to warn them of the approach of an enemy [25]. About a month after, June 23d, he made a ſtill greater effort to gain the king of Scots, and prevent a war, by giving a commiſſion to the biſhops of Durham and Carliſle, the lords Nevil and Dacres, and ſir William Tyler, to propoſe and negotiate a marriage between king James and his eldeſt daughter the princeſs Margaret [26]. But James had contracted engagements with the king of France that made him ſlight all theſe advances of the Engliſh monarch. A. D. 1495.

A parliament met at Edinburgh June 13th, A. D. 1496, in which ſeveral wiſe laws were made for the encouragement of learning and commerce, and for regulating the prices of proviſions, of labour, and of goods of various kinds, &c. &c. [27] No mention was made of war, or of any preparation for it in this parliament. A. D. 1496. Parliament.

Henry VII. did not yet deſpair of detaching the king of Scotland from the intereſt of his Perkin Warbec.

[25] Rym. p. 569. [26] Ibid. p. 572. [27] Black Acts, f. 101.

A. D. 1496. enemies on the continent, who had given him much trouble, by ſupporting Perkin Warbec, a pretender to his crown. He became the more earneſt to gain this point, that he had received intelligence that this adventurer was to make his next appearance in Scotland, and from thence to invade England, with a royal army. He therefore empowered his former commiſſioners to make James another offer of his eldeſt daughter in marriage, an offer which he knew it was the intereſt of that prince to accept. Such was his earneſtneſs to accompliſh this deſign, that he gave a ſeparate commiſſion, at the ſame time, to Richard Fox, biſhop of Durham, his moſt confidential miniſter, to propoſe and negotiate that marriage; and if James had been ſo wiſe as to liſten to that propoſal, he would probably have obtained very advantageous terms [28]. But he was too far engaged in other counſels. The arrival of Perkin Warbec in the court of Scotland, his marriage to the lady Jane Gordon, and the invaſion of England by an army of Scots commanded by their king, have been already related [29]. It muſt be confeſſed, that the conduct of king James on this occaſion cannot be vindicated on any other principle but this: That he believed Perkin Warbec to be the real duke of York, the only ſurviving ſon of Edward IV. and undoubted heir to the crown of England; and it was probably this belief that made him decline an alliance with Henry, by the marriage of his eldeſt daughter. If we could further ſuppoſe

[28] Black Acts, f. 635. [29] See part i. ſect. 1.

that

that he had diſcovered the plot above mentioned into which Henry had entered with lord Bothwell and ſir Thomas Todd, he would be fully juſtified in attempting to pull down a prince who had formed a ſcheme to deprive him of his crown and his liberty. But we have no evidence that he had any knowledge of that plot. A. D. 1496.

The invaſion of England by king James this year, the departure of Warbec from Scotland, and the truce between the two kingdoms, concluded at the caſtle of Aylon by the mediation of the Spaniſh ambaſſador, have all been already narrated [30]. There was one point, however, about which the commiſſioners could not agree, viz. which of the two kings had been the aggreſſor in the late war, and the violator of the former truce, each of them throwing the blame upon the other. But d'Acala, the Spaniſh ambaſſador to both kings, prevailed upon them to refer this troubleſome queſtion to the king and queen of Spain [31]. A decent way of laying it aſleep, and it was never determined. Great difficulties, beſides this, occurred in the concluding of this treaty, and Henry was obliged to give up ſeveral points for the ſake of peace, and to ſave the money his parliament had granted him for the war. His commiſſioners demanded that Perkin Warbec ſhould be delivered to their maſter as an infamous impoſtor, unworthy of the protection of any prince. But this demand was rejected with diſdain. They demanded alſo, that reparation ſhould be made A. D. 1497. A. D. 1498. Truce.

[30] See part i. ſect. i. [31] Rym. p. 671.

A. D. 1498. for the depredations the Scots had committed in their two late invaſions, which was poſitively refuſed. To remove theſe difficulties, they propoſed an interview between the two kings at Newcaſtle. But this James declined, ſaying, he was willing to make peace, but would not go a begging for peace. The truth ſeems to be, that the Scots had been conſiderable gainers by the war, and would willingly have continued it on any fair pretence.

A. D. 1499. Treaty. The ſeparate article that had been added to the treaty of Aylon by the biſhop of Durham and the Spaniſh ambaſſador prolonging the truce during the joint lives of the two kings and a year after, had not been ratified. Henry, wiſhing to prevent all future alarms from the north in his time, ſent Robert Rydon, vice-admiral of England, to the court of Scotland, then at Stirling, in the ſummer of this year, to procure the ratification of that article, or to make a new treaty to the ſame purpoſe. This ambaſſador negotiated and ſigned a new treaty July 12th, which was ratified by James on the 20th of that month [32]. But before it could be ratified by Henry, an event happened that threatened to put an end to all theſe peaceful counſels, and to rekindle the flames of war.

Skirmiſh at Norham. A company of young men from the north ſide of the Tweed, being on a viſit to their acquaintances in the town of Norham, were led by their curioſity to take a near and attentive view of the caſtle. The garriſon ſuſpecting that curioſity was

[32] Rym. p. 722. Regiſter Office, Edin.

not

not their only object, firſt attacked them with offenſive language, and afterwards with more dangerous weapons. The Scots, being unarmed, were put to flight, and ſome of them killed. When king James, naturally warm, and high-ſpirited, heard of this, he flew into a violent rage, and declared, That it was impoſſible for the Scots and Engliſh to live in peace. He immediately diſpatched a herald to the court of England to demand ſatisfaction; and if that was denied to denounce war. Henry, who ſincerely deſired peace, gave a mild anſwer to this demand, declaring, That he had no knowledge of what had happened; that he would inquire into it, and puniſh thoſe who ſhould be found to deſerve puniſhment. The biſhop of Durham, to whom the caſtle belonged, wrote a ſoothing letter to king James, expreſſing great concern for what had happened, and promiſing ample ſatisfaction [33]. A. D. 1499.

By theſe means the reſentment of king James was appeaſed, and he began to form more ſalutary and peaceful deſigns. He wrote to the biſhop of Durham, who he knew poſſeſſed the favour and confidence of his ſovereign, and deſired a conference with him at Melroſs on matters of great importance to both kingdoms. The prelate having obtained his maſter's permiſſion, waited upon James at the time and place appointed. The affair of Norham being compromiſed, the king had a private converſation with the biſhop, in which he obſerved that the moſt effectual means of Marriage propoſed.

[33] Lefly, p. 323. Abercromby, p. 508.

A. D. 1499. eſtabliſhing a firm and permanent peace between the two nations, would be an intimate union of the two royal families, by a marriage between him and the princeſs Margaret, which he very much deſired, and which he requeſted him to propoſe and promote. The prelate, who, on account of his ſituation, was a conſtant ſufferer by war, and ſincerely wiſhed for peace, profeſſed himſelf much honoured by the confidence repoſed in him, and declared that he would exert all his influence to promote ſo deſirable an union [34].

A.D. 1500. Propoſal accepted. The biſhop went immediately to court, and communicated this propoſal to king Henry, who received it with joy, as it was what he had long wiſhed, and had twice propoſed. He appointed his great confident Richard Fox, biſhop of Durham, his ambaſſador to the king of Scots September 11th, A.D. 1499, with full powers to ſettle all the conditions of a marriage between that prince and the princeſs Margaret his eldeſt daughter [35]. As the parties were within the prohibited degrees of conſanguinity, and the princeſs was only in the eleventh year of her age, Henry made application to the court of Rome, and obtained a diſpenſation from the pope, dated July 28th, A.D. 1500, permitting the marriage to be celebrated, and declaring it lawful, notwithſtanding the conſanguinity of the parties and the non-age of the princeſs.

A.D 1501. Commiſſions. The youth of the princeſs gave abundance of time to ſettle all the preliminaries of this marriage, and the other treaties with which it was to be ac-

[34] Buchan. lib. xiii. [35] Rym. p. 749.

companied. Henry granted, May 9th, A. D. 1501, a safe-conduct to Robert archbishop of Glasgow, Patrick earl of Bothwell, and Andrew Foreman, papal prothonotary and prior of May, ambassadors of the king of Scots, to come into England, with one hundred persons in their company [36]. It was not till the eighth of October after, that king James gave these ambassadors full powers to negotiate a marriage between him and the princess Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry king of England [37]. At the same time he gave the ambassadors a commission to negotiate and conclude a treaty of perpetual peace, amity, and confederation, between him and the king of England [38]. Another safe-conduct was granted by Henry to these ambassadors October 28th [39]. A.D.1501.

The ambassadors of Scotland having arrived in the court of England in the beginning of this year, or towards the end of the last, Henry gave full powers to Henry archbishop of Canterbury, keeper of the great seal; Richard Fox, now bishop of Winchester; and Thomas earl of Surry, treasurer of England; to treat with them about a marriage between his eldest daughter the princess Margaret and James king of Scots. The plenipotentiaries of the two kings concluded the treaty of marriage January 24th, on the following terms: First, That James king of Scots should in person, or by proxy, marry the princess Margaret, before the feast of Candlemas next, 2. That the king of Scots should A.D. 1502. Treaty of marriage.

[36] Rym. p. 772.
[37] Ibid. p. 776.
[38] Ibid. p. 777.
[39] Ibid. 780.

not

A. D. 1502. not deſire the princeſs to be delivered to him, in order to the ſolemnization and conſummation of the marriage, before September 1ſt, A. D. 1503: 3. That the king of England ſhould at his own expence conduct the princeſs to Lamberton Kirk, or ſome other place on the borders, and there deliver her to the king of Scots on or before the ſaid 1ſt of September; and that the king of Scots ſhould ſolemnize his marriage within fifteen days after: 4. That the queen's jointure ſhould be 2,000l. Engliſh, equivalent to 6,000l. Scots: 5. That the princeſs's fortune ſhould be 30,000 nobles of gold, equivalent to 10,000l. ſterling: 6. That the queen during the marriage ſhould have 1,000l. Scots, equivalent to 500 marks Engliſh, paid to her annually, to be diſpoſed of as ſhe thought proper: 7. That twenty of the queen's attendants ſhould be Engliſh, to be ſupported and paid by the king her huſband [40]. From hence it will appear, that though Henry was fond of this marriage, he was no leſs fond of his money, and made a very advantageous contract.

Treaty of peace. Theſe plenipotentiaries concluded and ſigned at the ſame time a treaty of perpetual peace, amity, and concord, between the king of England and the king of Scotland, and their ſucceſſors and ſubjects [41]. This was a great atchievement. Many attempts had been made to bring about a peace between the two Britiſh nations, but without ſucceſs; and theſe two nations had been in a ſtate of hoſtility for almoſt two centuries, interrupted only

[40] Rym. p. 787. [41] Ibid. p. 793.

by

by ſhort truces ill obſerved. To render this peace more ſecure and firm, another treaty was made at the ſame time, containing various regulations for ſettling all diſputes that might ariſe in an amicable manner, without occaſioning any breach of the peace [42]. But how vain were all theſe precautions! We ſhall ſoon ſee how long this perpetual peace laſted, and how well theſe treaties were obſerved. The continuance of peace between neighbouring nations depends much more on their characters, their circumſtances, and future occurrences, than on the faith of treaties. A. D. 1502.

Some appearances of miſunderſtanding between the two kings took place, even before the ſolemnization of the intended marriage. Lewis XII. of France being then at peace with England, and warmly engaged in the wars of Italy, had given no interruption to the negotiation of the above treaties; but when he heard that they were concluded, he took the alarm, and began to fear ſo intimate an union between the two Britiſh monarchs would weaken the long eſtabliſhed attachment of Scotland to France: he therefore earneſtly ſolicited king James to renew the ancient league between France and Scotland. With this requiſition James was inclined to comply, when he received a diſſuaſive letter from his father-in-law; to which he returned an anſwer, couched in very reſpectful and affectionate terms. He addreſſed him as his deareſt father, and told him, that though it was an article of the ancient league with Miſunderſtandings.

[42] Rym. p. 800.

France

A. D. 1502. France to renew it at the acceſſion of every king of either nation, and that this had been conſtantly done; yet at his deſire he would delay it till he had an interview with him, or till he had conſidered further of it, and had communicated to him his final reſolution, though he ſaw no good reaſon for this delay; nor could perceive how the renewing of the league could be hurtful to his deareſt father, or to himſelf [43]. But James gave a ſtill clearer proof of his independent ſpirit, and of his ſteady attachment to his ancient allies, when he came to ſwear to the obſervation of the above treaties before the Engliſh ambaſſadors in the cathedral of Glaſgow December 10th, A. D. 1502; by refuſing obſtinately to give his father-in-law the title of king of France; and in that oath he is only ſtyled king of England and lord of Ireland [44]. A more paſſionate and leſs prudent prince would have taken this as an unpardonable affront; but Henry, though he could not be pleaſed with it, ſuffered it to paſs unnoticed.

A.D. 1503. Deeds. Henry ſent the biſhops of Hereford and Worceſter to Rome in April this year, to lay all the above treaties before the pope, to obtain his confirmation of them, that the obſervation of them might be enforced by his authority, and by the dread of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, of which the greateſt princes in thoſe times ſtood in awe [45]. James, by a deed executed at Edinburgh May 24th, aſſigned the following lands for his queen's jointure:—The lordſhip and foreſt of Etreke, the earldoms of

[43] Rym. tom. xiii. p. 12. [44] Ibid. p. 43. [45] Ibid. p. 55.

March

March and Monteith, the palace and lordſhip of Linlithgow, the caſtle and lordſhip of Stirling, the caſtle and lordſhip of Down, the palace and lordſhip of Methvin; and iſſued a mandate to the ſheriffs of the ſeveral counties in which theſe lands lay, to grant the ſeiſins of them [46]. James duke of Roſs and archbiſhop of St. Andrews, the king's brother, is the firſt ſubſcribing witneſs to the firſt of theſe deeds. A.D. 1503.

All the preliminaries of this marriage being now ſettled, and the time when the princeſs was to be conducted into Scotland drawing near, great preparations were made for that journey and the celebration of the marriage—a marriage from which Great Britain hath derived greater and more permanent advantages, than from any other that hath ever been celebrated in this iſland. The princeſs had been ſolemnly married to king James, repreſented by his proxy Patrick earl of Bothwell, at Richmond January 27th, A.D. 1503, in preſence of her royal parents, the whole court of England, and the Scots ambaſſadors; but ſhe did not ſet out on her journey to Scotland till the 27th June thereafter. She was attended by her father king Henry (the queen her mother having died February 11th before) with his whole court to Collywiſton, the reſidence of her grandmother Margaret counteſs of Richmond, where ſhe remained till July 8th, when ſhe took leave of the king her father, and proceeded on her journey, accompanied by the earl and counteſs of Surry, with a numerous and ſplen-

[46] Rym. tom. xiii. p. 62.

did

A. D. 1503 did train of lords and ladies. The young queen travelled for the moſt part on horſeback. At her entrance into towns and cities ſhe was ſeated in a horſe-litter, open on all ſides, that ſhe might be more conveniently ſeen. She was received and entertained with ſpeeches and pageants by the magiſtrates, and by the clergy with proceſſions, maſſes, and muſic. At the entrance of every county ſhe was met by the high-ſheriff, with the principal lords, gentlemen, and ladies, of the county, in their richeſt dreſſes, who conducted her to the next. Proceeding by ſhort journies, and halting ſome days at York, Durham, Newcaſtle, and Berwick, ſhe arrived at Lamberton Kirk Auguſt 1ſt, where ſhe was received by the archbiſhop of Glaſgow and a great retinue of Scots lords and ladies, and conducted that night to Faſtcaſtle, the next to Haddington, and the next to Dalkeith, where ſhe was received by the king. They made their public entry into Edinburgh Auguſt 7th, and the next day the royal marriage was ſolemnized with great pomp. After ſix days ſpent in banqueting, dancing, tilting, &c. the Engliſh lords, ladies, and gentlemen took their leave of the king and queen, and ſet out on their return home, well pleaſed with the entertainment they had received [47].

A.D. 1504. Parliament. The diverſions that followed the royal marriage being ended, and the ſtrangers who attended it departed, the king applied himſelf to the affairs of government. A parliament met at Edinburgh March 11th, and on the 13th made an act rectify-

[47] See Leland's Collectanea, vol. iv. p. 258—300.

ing

ing and confirming the ſettlement of the queen's jointure; a copy of which, with the ſeals of a conſiderable number of each of the three eſtates appended, was delivered to the Engliſh ambaſſadors [48]. In this parliament many excellent laws were made on a great variety of ſubjects, which afford ſufficient evidence that the true intereſts of their country were well underſtood, and ſteadily purſued by this aſſembly. Several regulations were made for the more regular and ſpeedy adminiſtration of juſtice in the Low Country, and for eſtabliſhing magiſtrates and courts in the Highlands and Iſlands; for the want of which, it is ſaid, the people had become almoſt wild and lawleſs. James appears to have had the civilization of his ſubjects very much at heart; and in order to promote it, was willing to relinquiſh a part of his prerogative for a time. At his deſire an act was made againſt granting remiſſions to any who had been guilty of murder from forethought malice. This act was intended to give a check to the deadly feuds between great families; in proſecution of which many murders were committed with impunity; and it was to continue in force till it was revoked by the king [49]. With the ſame view, another very equitable law was made. It had been cuſtomary when perſons of rank and power had committed murder, or ſome other capital crime, to obtain a remiſſion from the king for ſome trivial offence particularly mentioned, with a general clauſe, and A. D. 1501.

[48] Rym. tom. xiii. p. 92—95. [49] Black Acts, f. 103.

all

A. D. 1504. all other crimes. But by this law it was declared, that the general clauſe ſhould not convey a pardon for any offence that was greater than the one particularly mentioned in the remiſſion [50]. In a word, it will be difficult to produce a ſyſtem of laws more juſt and equitable, and better adapted to the ſtate of the country for which they were deſigned, than thoſe that were enacted by this parliament.

A.D. 1505. Long peace. The immediate as well as the remote conſequences of the king's marriage were very happy. It brought peace to two nations that had long been engaged in the moſt deſtructive wars, and even extinguiſhed, for a time, their ancient animoſity, which, by its long continuance, had become inveterate, and almoſt invincible. It introduced the moſt friendly intercouſe between the two courts, and gave the two monarchs leiſure to promote the proſperity of their dominions. This leiſure was employed by James to the beſt purpoſes, in viſiting the ſeveral provinces of his kingdom, redreſſing wrongs, exſtinguiſhing family feuds, eſtabliſhing peace, order, and the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice in all places; encouraging learning, agriculture, and other uſeful arts, which greatly endeared him to his ſubjects of all ranks, who enjoyed a degree of proſperity and peace to which they had long been ſtrangers. Henry took care of the punctual payment of his daughter's dowry, which, with his other revenues, enabled James to repair and furniſh his palaces, and to keep a ſplendid

[50] Black Acts, f. 103.

court:

court: for in this reſpect he was of a very different ſpirit from his father-in-law, and had no taſte for hoarding money. A. D. 1505.

King James's application to the improvement and government of his kingdom did not prevent his attention to foreign affairs, and the concerns of his allies. On the contrary, he did ſome of them eſſential ſervices by his interpoſition, and kept up a conſtant correſpondence, by ambaſſadors and letters, with the courts of Rome, England, Germany, France, Spain, and Denmark[51]. His father-in-law having complained to him, that his great enemy Edmund de la Pole earl of Suffolk was entertained and protected by his couſin Charles duke of Gueldres, James wrote a very long and very ſharp letter to the duke; in which, after the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of friendſhip, he blames him greatly for entertaining the earl; anſwers all the excuſes he had made by his ambaſſadors; accuſes him of having broken his promiſe; and in the end aſſures him that if he did not immediately baniſh the earl out of his dominions, he could expect no further aſſiſtance from him, either of men or money[52]. This letter produced the deſired effect, and James was perfectly reconciled to the duke, whoſe cauſe he eſpouſed with a degree of warmth and efficacy that did him great honour. A.D. 1506. Foreign affairs.

Charles duke of Gueldres and Juliers, and earl of Zutphen, was at this time in great diſtreſs and danger. Arnold VI. duke of Gueldres, father to Mary queen to James II. and grandmother of Affairs of Gueldres.

[51] See Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, tom. i. [52] Ibid. p. 11.

A. D. 1506. James IV. was impriſoned by his own ſon Adolph. But Charles the Bold duke of Burgundy delivered him from his priſon, and reſtored him to his authority; out of gratitude for which, he bequeathed his dominions to his deliverer. On his death, however, Adolph got and preſerved the poſſeſſion of them, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Charles, who had hitherto defended himſelf with great bravery and ſucceſs. But a formidable confederacy was now formed againſt him by the emperor Maximilian, his ſon Philip duke of Burgundy and king of Caſtile, and the king of England. In this extremity he ſent an ambaſſador to king James, to implore his good offices with the confederates to divert the impending ſtorm and procure a peace; and if that could not be obtained, to know what aſſiſtance he might expect from him in the war. To this James returned a long and diſtinct anſwer, aſſuring him that he would exert all his influence with the princes confederated againſt him, to prevail upon them to make peace with him on reaſonable terms. If war became unavoidable, he acquainted him that the diſtance of the ſcene of action would make it difficult to give him all the aſſiſtance he wiſhed; that all theſe princes were his friends and allies, with whom he was very unwilling to engage in war; but that he might rely upon it, that he would do as much as he could expect from a ſincere friend and affectionate relation [53].

To fulfil his promiſe to the duke, James wrote a long and elegant letter to his father-in-law; in

[53] Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, tom. i. p. 30—34.

which

which he employed many ſtrong arguments, ſome of them expreſſed in the moſt pathetic and affecting language, to diſſuade him from making war on the duke of Gueldres, to whoſe dominions his children and Henry's grandchildren were the undoubted heirs, after the duke and the queen of Sicily. After painting in ſtrong colours the pain it would give him to be compelled to look upon his deareſt father as his greateſt enemy, and the ſorrow it would give his beloved wife to ſee her father and her huſband at war with one another, he tells him in the moſt poſitive terms, that if he perſiſted in his deſign to ſend troops to aſſiſt the emperor againſt the duke of Gueldres, he was determined to tranſport himſelf with an army to the continent, to place himſelf by the ſide of his brave relation, and to ſtand or fall with him. This letter he ſent with his ambaſſadors Robert Foreman, dean of Glaſgow, and the lord Lion king at arms; who, having finiſhed the buſineſs at the court of England ſucceſsfully, proceeded to the continent, charged with letters to the emperor Maximilian, to Charles king of Caſtile and duke of Burgundy, (who had lately ſucceeded his father Philip,) and to the Chancellor and ſenate of Burgundy. In theſe letters he uſed ſuch arguments as he imagined would be moſt effectual to diſſuade thoſe to whom they were addreſſed from invading the dominions of the duke of Gueldres [54]. Nor did he thus warmly eſpouſe the cauſe of his friend in vain. The ſtorm was diſſipated, and the duke was not invaded. A. D. 1506.

[54] Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, tom. i. p. 40—49.

A. D. 1506. Denmark. But James made his greateſt exertions this year in favour of his uncle John king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, from whom the Swedes had revolted, and were ſupported in their revolt by the city of Lubeck, then very powerful at ſea. King James ſent the dean of Glaſgow and lord Lion his ambaſſadors, firſt to Lubeck, with letters to the magiſtrates and ſenate, exhorting them with much earneſtneſs and many arguments to make peace with the king his uncle, and offering his mediation, which was accepted and a peace concluded. The ambaſſadors then proceeded to Sweden with letters to the archbiſhop of Upſal the primate, the biſhop of Roſkeld the chancellor, and the nobility [55]. Theſe letters paint the horrors of a civil war in very lively colours, and are written with extraordinary elegance and energy. Among other things he aſſured them that he would procure for them a full redreſs of all their grievances, and that no ties of blood ſhould ever engage him to ſupport a tyrant in violating the rights of his ſubjects; but that if they perſiſted in their rebellion, he was determined to aſſiſt their king his uncle with all his power. To give weight to theſe arguments, James fitted out a fleet, and embarked an army of ten thouſand men, and ſent them to Denmark, under the command of his couſin the earl of Arran. But before the arrival of this fleet and army, a peace was concluded, and they returned home [56]. The queen of Denmark having ſent king James a letter

[55] Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, tom. i. p. 34—38.
[56] Ibid. p. 69.

of

of thanks for this ſeaſonable and powerful aid, he returned a very polite anſwer, dated at Edinburgh 25th Auguſt, A. D. 1506, in which he expreſſed ſome diſſatisfaction at the ſudden unexpected return of his fleet and army, which, he ſays, he would not have excuſed, if they had not brought him the agreeable news that peace was reſtored, and that her majeſty (who had been beſieged) was in perfect ſafety [57]. Theſe two examples afford ſufficient evidence that James eſpouſed the cauſe of his friends with zeal and ſpirit, and that his interpoſition was reſpected by the other powers of Europe. A. D. 1506.

King James and his anceſtors did not take the title of kings of Scotland, but of kings of the Scots, and ſeem to have conſidered themſelves as ſovereigns of that people wherever they reſided, and particularly of the colonies of Scots in Ireland. Theſe coloniſts alſo acknowledged themſelves to be their ſubjects. It appears further, that ſome of the ancient Iriſh princes or chieftains voluntarily became the ſubjects of, and ſwore fealty to, the Scots kings. A proof of both theſe occurred at this time. Odo Odoneil, an Iriſh chieftain, ſent an ambaſſador to James, notifying his father's death, and his own acceſſion to the government of his people and eſtates. He acquainted him further, that he deſigned to go to war next ſpring, and deſired the king to ſend him four thouſand men under the conduct of John Mackeane, and to command his ſubjects in Claudompniel not to aſſiſt A. D. 1507. Subjects in Ireland.

[57] Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, tom. i. p. 69.

A.D.1507. his enemies, and that he would not go out of his kingdom to meet with his father-in-law. In anſwer to theſe letters, James condoled with him on the death of his father, who, he ſaid, had ſworn fealty to him in perſon, and had always been his loyal ſubject. He then congratulated him on his acceſſion to the power and fortunes of his anceſtors, and aſſured him, that when he came to ſwear fealty, he would treat him with the ſame reſpect and kindneſs that he had treated his father. He deſired to know againſt whom, and for that cauſe, he was going to war; and if the cauſe appeared to be good, he would ſend him the ſuccours he requeſted. He told him, that he would command his ſubjects of Claudompniel not to fight againſt him, becauſe he was alſo his ſubject. But as to the propoſed interview with his deareſt father, that was ſo pious an act, that nothing ſhould diſſuade him from it, when it became convenient for them to have an interview [58]. But though it is evident that many of the people of Ireland acknowledged themſelves to be the ſubjects of the kings of the Scots, I have not diſcovered what degree of authority theſe kings exerciſed over them, or what revenues they received from them.

Great ſhip. King James paid great attention to trade, and prepared a fleet for its protection, not inconſiderable for thoſe times and the ſtate of his kingdom. In particular, he built one ſhip larger than any that had yet been ſeen in Europe. It was not long before he had occaſion to employ that and ſome

[58] Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, tom. i. p. 63.

other

other ſhips in defence of his commercial ſubjects. The Hollanders, for what reaſon we are not informed, had taken ſeveral Scots ſhips, and had thrown their crews into the ſea. James, irritated at this cruelty, fitted out his great ſhip, with ſome others, under the command of Andrew Barton, who ſeized all the Dutch ſhips he could meet with, ſent home ſome hogſheads of Dutchmen's heads as a preſent to the king, and returned to Leith with ſeveral valuable prizes [59]. A cruel revenge for a cruel injury. A.D. 1507.

King James, though at peace with England, and ſo nearly connected with that royal family, did not neglect his ancient allies, but kept up a conſtant correſpondence with the court of France by his ambaſſadors, and by receiving ambaſſadors from that court. Nor was Lewis XII. leſs anxious to cultivate the friendſhip of the king of Scots, and to cherriſh the ancient amity between the two nations. The chief inſtrument he employed for this purpoſe was Bernard Stewart, lord D'Aubigny, who was related to, and beloved by James, and in high favour with Lewis. This nobleman made ſeveral journies into Scotland on various pretences, but in reality to confirm and ſtrengthen the union between the two courts and the two nations. Andrew Foreman, biſhop of Moray and archbiſhop of Bourges in France, who was James's great favourite, was warmly engaged in the ſame deſign. Both France and Scotland were at this time at peace with England, but they were not certain Policy of France and Scotland.

[59] Leſlæus, lib. viii. p. 343.

A.D. 1507. that this peace with both of them would be of long duration; and each of them desired to secure an useful ally, in case of a war with a power that had long been considered as their common enemy [60]. It is in the time of peace that useful alliances should be formed and strengthened.

Succours to France. In the course of the friendly correspondence this year, Lewis requested of James an aid of four thousand men, to be employed in the wars of Italy, at Savona, Genoa, or Milan. James readily agreed to this requisition, and sent his answer by his cousin James earl of Arran, and desired to know at what port the troops should assemble, and when the fleet would arrive to receive them. But Genoa having surrendered in the mean time, the king of France acquainted his ally of that event, and that the succours were not now necessary, but intreated him to have them in readiness, if they should become necessary [61]. To which James returned this very friendly answer: "That he and all his sub-"jects would fly to his assistance if it became "necessary."

Pilgrimage. Though James IV. was a prince of great activity and spirit, applied to business when his affairs required it, and spent his leisure hours in riding, hunting, tilting, and other amusements, he was often disquieted by remorse for the part he had acted against his unhappy father. To expiate that crime, he added a link every year to the iron chain he wore about his body: he went in pilgrimage to

60 Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, tom. i. p. 70—89.

61 Ibid. p. 84. 87.

the

the ſhrines of all the ſaints of any reputation in his own kingdom, and meditated a viſit to the Holy Land. On the 30th of Auguſt this year he ſet out from Stirling alone early in the morning, and rode by Perth and Aderdeen to Elgin, being an hundred and thirty miles, that day. After repoſing a few hours upon a table, he mounted again, and rode forty miles to St. Dulhacks in Roſs, on the 31ſt, the feſtival of that ſaint, and arrived in time to attend maſs and receive the ſacrament [62]. His penitences, it is hoped, was more acceptable to Heaven than his pilgrimages, though he probably thought them very meritorious, becauſe they were very fatiguing. A. D. 1507.

That turbulent ambitious pontiff Julius II. paid great court to both the Britiſh monarchs at this time, with very ſelfiſh and ſiniſter views. He ſent a legate to the court of Scotland, with a preſent to the king of a cap of maintenance, and a ſword, that had been properly bleſſed by his holineſs, to be employed againſt the enemies of the church [63]. The real deſign of ſending this embaſſy and preſent was to weaken, if poſſible, the attachment of king James to his ally the king of France, who was the great object of the dread and hatred of his holineſs, on account of his power, and the ſucceſs of his arms in Italy. But that the legate could not accompliſh. The preſent, however, was received with great ceremony by the king and his nobility in the church of Holyrood-houſe. A.D. 1508. Legate from Rome.

62 Leſlæus, lib. viii. p. 345. 63 Ibid.

A miſ-

A. D. 1508. Diſputes with Portugal.

A miſunderſtanding and coolneſs had ſubſiſted ſeveral years between the courts of Scotland and Portugal, occaſioned by the mutual depredations of the ſubjects at ſea. A fleet of the Portugueſe had captured a ſhip belonging to James III. commanded by John Bertoun; of which that prince complained to the king of Portugal, and obtaining no redreſs, granted letters of marque to Bertoun a little before his death. James IV. at the earneſt requeſt of Robert and John Bertouns, the ſons of John Bertoun, granted them letters of marque or repriſal. Of theſe, the two Bertouns, aſſiſted by their brother Andrew, made a very good uſe. They fitted out two ſtout ſhips, with which they cruiſed on the coaſts of Portugal, and took ſeveral valuable prizes[64]. This trade was ſo lucrative, and appeared to them ſo honourable, that they carried it too far, and continued it too long; and in the end (as we ſhall afterwards hear) brought ruin upon themſelves, and contributed to bring many calamities upon their country.

A. D. 1509. Death of Henry VII.

The treaty of perpetual peace between the two Britiſh kingdoms, that had been concluded on the marriage of king James with the princeſs royal of England, had hitherto been faithfully obſerved by both powers, and the borders of the two kingdoms, formerly the ſcene of almoſt inceſſant hoſtility, were reduced to a ſtate of as great quiet and order as any other part of the iſland. Nor have we any reaſon to imagine that any breach of this

64 Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, p. 91.

treaty

treaty would have taken place, while the father and ſon-in-law continued to reign, though their joint lives had been much longer. But that prudent pacific prince Henry VII. died April 22d this year, which rendered the continuance of peace more precarious. A.D. 1509.

Henry VIII. at his acceſſion, ſeems to have been diſpoſed to follow the example of his father and to preſerve peace with Scotland: for he delivered to the Scots ambaſſadors, Andrew Foreman, biſhop of Moray, and James earl of Arran, (who had been ſent to congratulate him on his acceſſion,) a confirmation of the treaty of perpetual peace, under the great ſeal, dated at Weſtminſter July 29th, and on Auguſt 29th he ſwore to the obſervation of all the articles of that treaty. On the ſame day the biſhop of Moray ſwore a ſimilar oath in the name of his maſter; and king James ſwore to the obſervation of the treaty of perpetual peace at Edinburgh November 28th, before the Engliſh commiſſioners appointed to take his oath, and a great number of his own nobility[65]. Henry alſo renewed and confirmed the treaty of peace with France with the ſame ſolemnities, and every thing, for ſome time, ſeemed to promiſe a long continuance of tranquillity. But Henry, being young and ambitious, had not the ſame determined averſion to war, and deſire of peace, with his prudent and cautious father, nor had James the ſame reſpect for his perſon, nor confidence in his friendſhip, that he had entertained towards his father-in-law. Treaty of peace confirmed.

[65] Rym. tom. xiii. p. 257. 261. 267.

In

A.D.1510. Diſorders on the marches.

In ſpite of all the care that had been taken by the wardens of the marches to preſerve peace and good order on the borders, ſome acts of violence had been committed in thoſe parts in the beginning of this year, of which complaints were made to both kings. Henry granted a commiſſion June 1ſt, to ſir Robert Drury and ſir Marmaduck Conſtable, to meet the commiſſioners of the king of Scots, and in conjunction with them to puniſh offenders and redreſs grievances[66]. James being nearer the ſcene of theſe diſorders, acted with greater effect. Having received intelligence that a gang of banditti infeſted the middle marches, he ſet out at the head of a body of armed men, and marching all night, came upon the plunderers unexpectedly, ſeized many of them, and conducted them to Jedburgh, where they were tried, the moſt guilty executed, and others fined or impriſoned[67]. Thus far, therefore, there was no appearance of any miſunderſtanding between the two courts.

A.D.1511. Sea-fight.

But this good underſtanding was not of long duration. Andrew Bertoun, one of the three brothers who had received letters of marque againſt the Portugueſe, returning with two ſhips from a cruiſe on the coaſts of Portugal, was attacked in the Downs by ſir Edward Howard, lord admiral of England, and his elder brother lord Thomas Howard, who had been ſent with a ſuperior force to intercept him. Though Bertoun and his men were ſurpriſed at this unexpected attack, they defended themſelves with great bravery; but being

[66] Rym. tom. xiii. p. 276. [67] Leſly, p. 354.

over-

overpowered by numbers, both their ſhips were taken and brought to London. Bertoun died of the wounds he had received in the engagement; and thoſe of his men who ſurvived, after being confined a few days, were ſet at liberty, and commanded to depart the kingdom in three weeks[68]. A.D. 1511.

Nothing could equal the ſurpriſe and indignation of king James, when he received intelligence of this event. To ſeize his ſhips, and to ſlaughter and impriſon his ſubjects acting under his commiſſion, without having made any complaint, or produced any evidence that they had exceeded their commiſſion, appeared to him an intolerable inſult and injury, a direct and wanton violation of the treaty of perpetual peace. But when the firſt tranſports of his paſſion ſubſided, he determined to obſerve the ſtipulations of that treaty, by demanding redreſs, before he proceeded to retaliation. He immediately ſent an embaſſy to the court of England, to complain of the violation of the treaty of peace, and to demand redreſs. The pride which ſuperior power and wealth are apt to produce ſeems to have influenced the Engliſh monarch and his miniſtry on this occaſion. They returned a ſhort and very provoking anſwer: "That the puniſhment of pirates could not be a "violation of any treaty, nor require any re-"dreſs[69]." The Engliſh merchants had, indeed, complained to their own government, that Bertoun had ſearched and plundered ſome of their ſhips of what he pretended was Portugueſe property: but Embaſſy to England.

[68] Leſly, p. 355. [69] Abercromby, p. 523.

no

A.D. 1511. no complaint of this had been made to the government of Scotland, as the treaty of peace required; and therefore the ſeizure of Bertoun's ſhips was an evident violation of that treaty [70].

Embaſſy to Scotland. The Engliſh miniſtry ſoon became ſenſible that they had acted unwarrantably, contrary to the plaineſt ſtipulations in the late treaty, and diſcovered a diſpoſition to appeaſe the reſentment of king James, and prevent a rupture. With this view doctor Nicholas Weſt, dean of Windſor, was ſent ambaſſador to the court of Scotland in the beginning of November, with very ample powers to redreſs all injuries, grievances, and attempts againſt the treaty of perpetual peace [71]. What redreſs doctor Weſt propoſed we are not informed: we only know that it was not accepted, and that his negotiation was unſucceſsful. This appears plainly from a letter written by king James to the pope, dated at Edinburgh December 5th, A. D, 1511, in which he complains of ſome violations of the treaty of peace by the late king of England his father-in-law, but more bitterly of the far greater violations of it by the preſent king his brother. "The preſent king of England, (ſays he,) who "hath ſworn to the treaty of perpetual peace, pur- "ſues our ſubjects by ſea and land, kills, captivates, "and impriſons them; we demand, but do not "obtain redreſs. In his conduct every thing is "hoſtile, nothing peaceful. We find that the "loſſes and ſufferings of our ſubjects daily increaſe. "We have communicated theſe things to your

70 Rym. tom. xii. p. 793.

71 Rym. tom. xiii. p. 309.

"holineſs, that if war enſue, you may know that A.D 1511.
"we have not ſought it, but have been forced
"into it in our own defence [72]." In a word, it is abundantly evident that king James had by this time received great provocation, and was very much incenſed againſt his brother-in-law, and that all the amity which had lately prevailed between the two courts and the two nations was at an end.

It is poſſible, however, that the affair of Bertoun and the diſputes on the borders might have been compromiſed without producing a war, if a more ſerious cauſe of quarrel had not intervened. Henry VIII. then young and ambitious, had been betrayed by the pope, and his father-in-law Ferdinand of Arragon, into a league againſt Lewis XII. November 10th, A. D. 1511, only a few months after he had ſworn to a treaty of peace with that prince, and without having received the ſlighteſt provocation [73]. This holy league, as it was called, was kept a profound ſecret for ſome time, but began to be ſuſpected about the beginning of this year and was ſoon after publicly known and avowed. The pope and Ferdinand attempted to draw James into this pretended holy league, and doctor Leonard Lopez, the Spaniſh ambaſſador at his court, uſed every argument to that purpoſe that could be imagined, but in vain. This appears from a letter he ſent to Ferdinand by his ambaſſador, in which he moſt earneſtly intreated A.D. 1512. Confederacy againſt France.

[72] Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, p. 123.
[73] See Section II. A.D. 1511.

him

A. D. 1512. him not to engage in a war againſt a chriſtian prince, but to reſerve his forces, to be employed, in conjunction with thoſe of other chriſtian princes, againſt the infidels in Africa. To remove all obſtruction to that pious expedition, he preſſed him very warmly to mediate a peace between the pope, the common father of chriſtians, and the moſt chriſtian king [74]. He appointed his couſin John duke of Albany, then in France, his ambaſſador to the emperor Maximilian, and ſent his moſt confidential miniſter, Andrew Foreman, biſhop of Moray, to Rome, with inſtructions to both to mediate a peace between the pope and the king of France [75]. This is a ſufficient proof that James was at this time ſincerely diſpoſed to peace, and made every effort in his power to prevent a war.

Treaty with France.

As ſoon as Lewis XII. diſcovered the confederacy that was formed againſt him, he diſpatched an ambaſſador to the court of Scotland to ſecure the aſſiſtance of his ancient allies. Monſieur la Motte, the French ambaſſador, found king James ſo much heated with reſentment againſt the king and people of England for the injuries they had lately done him, that he eaſily prevailed upon him to renew and confirm all the former treaties of alliance between the two crowns, with a very remarkable addition. In all former treaties the contracting parties had engaged to aſſiſt one another againſt the Engliſh, and againſt ſuch as ſhould attempt to change the regular order of ſucceſſion to their reſpective crowns. But in this new treaty the two

74 Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, p. 131. 75 Ibid. p. 130—146.

kings

kings engaged to aſſiſt one another againſt all who may live and die. This treaty was ratified by king James at Edinburgh, 16th March, A. D. 1512 [76]. A. D. 1512.

The Engliſh miniſtry, being now determined on a war with France, became ſenſible of the error they had committed in irritating the king and people of Scotland, and reſolved, if poſſible, to procure a reconciliation. Henry therefore ſent Thomas lord Dacres and doctor Weſt to the court of Scotland in April with two commiſſions: by the one they were authoriſed to require James to ſwear again to the treaty of perpetual peace, and to engage that their maſter would do the ſame; by the other, to redreſs all grievances and violations of the peace [77]. The redreſs propoſed was not accepted, and James declined to renew his oath. He declared, however, it is ſaid, to the ambaſſadors, by word of mouth, that he would obſerve a ſtrict neutrality; but when he was requeſted to give that declaration in writing he refuſed [78]. James, it is probable, gave the ambaſſadors good words, and expreſſed a great regrd for his brother-in-law, which they conſtrued into a promiſe of neutrality. His ſituation was very critical. Being a ſuperſtitious prince, he was averſe to engage in a war againſt the pope, whoſe thunders he dreaded; and at the ſame time he was warmly attached to the king of France. Beſides, the engagements into which he had entered with France and Eng- Embaſſy to Scotland.

[76] Abercromby, p. 526. [77] Rym. p. 332, 333.
[78] Herbert, p. 12.

A. D. 1512. land were of ſuch a nature, that it was hardly poſſible to perform them both: he might therefore have been undetermined at this time what part he would act in the approaching war, which might induce him to give the Engliſh ambaſſadors fair words, without entangling himſelf in any new engagements.

Embaſſy to Denmark. When things were in this ſtate, king James ſent an ambaſſador to his uncle John king of Denmark with the following inſtructions, dated at Linlithgow, May 28th, A. D. 1512: To acquaint him, that the king of England had declared war againſt their common friend and ally the king of France, and to inquire what aſſiſtance he was willing to give to the moſt chriſtian king, and on what conditions: To inform him further, that the Engliſh had committed, and ſtill continued to commit, many hoſtilities againſt his ſubjects, for which he could obtain no adequate ſatisfaction; and to inquire what money he would lend him, and on what terms, and what ſhips and troops he would ſend to his aſſiſtance, if he engaged in a war with England. The ambaſſador was inſtructed to return as ſoon as poſſible with an anſwer to theſe queſtions [79]. He received a favourable anſwer, and the king of Denmark ſent ſome ſhips, loaded with arms and ammunition, into Scotland in the end of this, or beginning of the next year[80].

Hoſtilities. Robert Bertoun, the brother of the late Andrew Bertoun, had long ſolicited for letters of marque to avenge his brother's death and the capture of

79 Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, 148. 80 Abercromby, p. 527.

his ſhips; and as ſoon as James received intelli- A.D. 1512.
gence that the Engliſh fleet, with an army on board, had actually ſailed to invade France, he granted them. Bertoun ſailed in the end of May, and returned to Leith in July with fifteen prizes [81].

About the ſame time James endeavoured to create a diverſion to the Engliſh arms, by exciting an inſurrection in Ireland. The great Odoniel, as he is called, viſited the court of Scotland, and ſwore fealty to the king, who entertained him honourably, and ſent him home to raiſe his followers, and make war upon the Engliſh in that country [82].

Though James prepared for war, he did not intermit his endeavours to prevent it, and to bring about a peace between the pope and the king of France. With this view he ſent an ambaſſador to Rome in the beginning of this year; and the pope in anſwer to his earneſt ſolicitations, tranſmitted to him letters, expreſſive of the higheſt eſteem and warmeſt affection, thanking him for his unwearied labours to promote peace, which was obſtructed only by his undutiful ſon the king of France, who would not ſubmit to him, who was the common father of all kings. He ſent him at the ſame time a copy of the letters he had received from the Ragoſians, concerning the great preparations the Turks were making for invading Italy; and alſo the copy of a letter he had written to the king of France on that ſubject. This laſt exhibits a moſt curious ſpecimen of canting and hypocriſy. Though he hated Lewis mortally, he addreſſed Letters from Rome.

[81] Abercromby, p. 526. [82] Ibid. p. 527.

A. D. 1512. him as his moſt dear ſon, acquainted him with the great preparations the abominable Turks were making for invading Chriſtendom. "But, my "deareſt ſon, (ſaid he,) if theſe odious Turks "ſhould come what can they do more cruel, "more deteſtable, or more horrible, than your "ſoldiers did, after the battle of Ravenna?" He put him in mind of the glory his anceſtors had acquired, by enriching and protecting the church, and conjures him not to tarniſh all that glory by oppoſing him, and obſtructing the union of all chriſtian princes againſt the enemies of the chriſtian faith, which he alone had hitherto obſtructed. He tells him, that he and many other princes had lately entered into a moſt holy league for recovering Bologna, Ferrara, and all the other poſſeſſions of the church from him, and then undertaking an expedition againſt the Turks; and obteſts him by the bowels of Jeſus Chriſt to enter into that moſt holy league and expedition [83]. Lewis perfectly well knew that the pretended holy league was made only againſt himſelf, and that the expedition againſt the Turks was a mere pretence.

James knight to the queen of France.

Lewis XII. was at great pains to conciliate the friendſhip and ſecure the aſſiſtance of the king of Scots, when all his other allies, except the duke of Gueldres, had abandoned him; and almoſt all the other princes of Europe had combined againſt him. One of the arts employed for that purpoſe would appear ridiculous in the preſent age; but in that age, and with ſuch a prince, was well calculated to produce the deſired

[83] Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, p. 156—165.

effect.

effect. Anne of Britanny, queen of France, knowing him to be a gallant prince, an admirer of the ladies and of chivalry, chose him for her knight and champion, to protect her in her distress from all her enemies; and sent him a ship, loaded with arms, as a token of her confidence that he would use them in her defence [84]. He was proud of this honour, and determined to act the part of a valiant and loyal knight. A. D. 1512.

As Henry had sent an army under the marquis of Dorset to invade Guienne, he thought it prudent to provide against an invasion from Scotland, by giving a commission to Thomas earl of Surry, August 6th, to array all the defencible men in Yorkshire, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, to arm and train them, that they might be in readiness to repel the Scots whenever it should be necessary [85]. The earl of Surry, who was lord high treasurer and earl marshal of England, executed this commission with great activity and spirit, the necessity and advantage of which soon after appeared. Commission of array.

This array in the north of England, and some intelligence he had received, made James imagine that an invasion of Scotland was intended, to put it out of the power of that kingdom to assist France. This we learn from the letters he sent to his uncle John king of Denmark towards the end of this year. He acquaints that prince, that it had been declared in the parliament of England, (that met November 4th,) "That it would be imprudent Letters to Denmark.

84 Lesly, p. 358. Drummond, p. 140—145. 85 Rym. p. 339.

A. D. 1512. "to invade France till they had firſt diſabled "Scotland: That the king of England was ſo "much elated by the great ſubſidy he had got "from his parliament, that he boaſted he would "invade both France and Scotland at the ſame "time. I am informed (ſays he) by my friends "and favourers, that the great preparations the "Engliſh are making by ſea and land are deſigned "againſt us. Being afraid to attack the French, "who are prepared for war, they deſign ſuddenly "to aſſault the Scots, who are meditating nothing "but peace and concord. For reſiſting ſuch a "formidable aſſault we are but ill prepared, and "therefore we beſeech your majeſty, our moſt "dear uncle, to provide as ſtrong a fleet and army "as poſſible, and ſend them to the aſſiſtance of "your nephew [86]." James was indeed miſinformed by his friends in England; but that he entertained theſe apprehenſions at this time (December 12th, A. D. 1512) there can be no doubt. It appears alſo from the whole of this, and from his other letters, that he earneſtly deſired and endeavoured to prevent a war between France and England; but ſince that could not be prevented, he thought it moſt prudent and moſt generous to adhere to the ancient allies of his crown, from whom he might expect aſſiſtance againſt the ambitious attempts of his two powerful neighbours. "It would be very imprudent, (ſays he in the "ſame letter,) and unſafe for us, to ſuffer the Eng-"liſh to ſubdue France; for then there can be

[86] Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, p. 169.

"no

" no doubt that they would make themſelves A. D. 1512.
" maſters of Scotland [87]."

In the beginning of this year every thing wore A.D. 1513. Negotiations.
a hoſtile appearance between the two Britiſh nations; but the intercourſe between the two courts was not quite broken off. James propoſed to ſend an embaſſy, conſiſting of John lord Drummond, ſir Robert Lawder, ſir John Ramſay, ſir William Scot, and Mr. John Henriſon; and on January 25th Henry granted them a ſafe-conduct to come into England, with one hundred perſons in their company. But this embaſſy, for ſome reaſon now unknown, was never ſent. Henry alſo gave a commiſſion February 1ſt to William lord Conyers and ſir Robert Drury, to meet with commiſſioners of the king of Scots, to ſettle all diſputes about the treaty of perpetual peace, and to make new regulations for the better obſervation of that treaty. He gave another commiſſion February 15th to Thomas lord Dacres and doctor Nicholas Weſt, to agree with commiſſioners of Scotland on an abolition of all the paſt treſpaſſes againſt the perpetual peace [88]. Doctor Weſt came to the court of Scotland March 16th, and prevailed upon James to agree to a meeting of the commiſſioners of both kings, to be held on the borders in the beginning of July. Theſe commiſſioners accordingly met at the time and place appointed; but after long debates they could come to no agreement [89]. This was owing to the Engliſh commiſſioners, who inſiſted upon a delay to the 15th of October;

[87] Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, p. 171. [88] Rym. p. 346.
[89] Leſly, p. 358.

A. D. 1513. by which time they hoped the event of the expedition into France would be known. James was greatly irritated at this attempt to deceive him, and from that time reliquiſhed all hopes and thoughts of peace.

Supplies. Monſieur la Motte, the French ambaſſador, who had lately made ſeveral voyages between France and Scotland, arrived in the Clyde May 24th with four ſhips loaded with wine, flour, &c. About the ſame time ſome ſhips from Denmark arrived at Leith with arms and ammunition [90]. James being thus better prepared for war, became more indifferent about peace.

A fleet and army ſent to France. There was one way in which James had it in his power to aſſiſt his ally the king of France, without ſo much as the appearance of violating the treaty of perpetual peace with England. By an article in that treaty it was agreed, "That if the king of "England, or his ſucceſſors, made war upon any "of the allies of the king of Scots, or his ſucceſ- "ſors, the king of Scots ſhould abſtain from in- "vading the dominion of the king of England, "but ſhould be at liberty to aſſiſt his ally in any "other way, and that ſuch aſſiſtance ſhould not "be conſidered as a violation of the treaty [91]." There was a ſimilar article in favour of the king of England. King James availed himſelf of the liberty allowed by this article. He had a conſiderable fleet in readineſs, in which there were three ſhips of uncommon magnitude for thoſe times, the Michael, the Margaret, and the James. He

[90] Leſly, p. 358. [91] Rym. tom. xii. p. 726.

gave

gave the command of the fleet to James Gordon, a ſon of the earl of Huntly; and of four thouſand land forces on board, to his couſin James earl of Arran. Having received intelligence that the king of England, with a great army, had invaded France, the fleet ſailed from Leith July 26th, and arrived ſafe. The troops, it is ſaid, did good ſervice in the war, for which their commander was rewarded with a penſion, and the privileges of their countrymen, in that kingdom, confirmed and enlarged [92]. A. D. 1513.

It would have been fortunate, as well as prudent, if James had been contented with ſending ſuccours to his ally; and it is probable he would not have proceeded any farther, if he had not been provoked to it by the haughtineſs of his brother-in-law, and the injuries his ſubjects had received from the Engliſh, for which he could obtain no redreſs. Theſe injuries daily increaſed. As ſoon as the miſunderſtanding between the two monarchs was known, the borderers broke looſe, and renewed their uſual depredations. Towards the end of July a troop of Engliſhmen having plundered a part of the Merſe, king James commanded the earl of Hume to collect his followers and revenge the injury. The earl entered England Auguſt 13th, at the head of three thouſand men, deſolated the country, and burnt ſeveral villages. But as they were returning with their booty in great ſecurity, they fell into an ambuſh, were defeated, and loſt all their plunder [93]. Though this was no Depredations.

[92] Leſly, p. 359. [93] Hall, f. 38. Buchan. p. 250.

great

A. D. 1513. great matter in itſelf, it had a very bad effect, by inflaming the king's reſentment beyond meaſure; it rendered him deaf to all advice; raſh, violent, and precipitant, in all his proceedings.

Letter to king Henry. James ſent his principal herald, Lion king at arms, in his fleet to France, with a long letter to king Henry, in which he enumerated all the injuries he had received from him, and the reaſons he had to declare war againſt him; the chief of which were theſe following:—In general, his unfriendly and unfair dealing towards him in all tranſactions, and on all occaſions: In particular, his approving of the inſidious deceitful conduct of his commiſſioners at the late meeting on the borders, by the frivolous excuſes they made for their producing no criminals, and by their inſiſting upon a delay of all matters till October, when it had been promiſed that all things ſhould be amicably ſettled at that meeting:—his refuſing to grant a ſafe-conduct to an ambaſſador he had propoſed to ſend to him; a thing that had never been done even by the Turks:—his retaining the legacies that had been left to his queen by her brother and father, out of hatred to him:—his refuſing ſatisfaction for the ſlaughter of Andrew Bertoun, (which had been done by his command,) and ſtill detaining his ſhip:—his protecting the baſtard Heron, who had killed ſir Robert Ker, warden of the middle marches:—his making war, without any provocation, on his two neareſt relations and beſt allies, the king of France and duke of Gueldres, to whom he muſt look for aſſiſtance when

when he ſtood in need. He, in the end, intreats him to deſiſt from the proſecution of that war immediately, and acquaints him, that if he did not, he would be obliged, in conſequence of his alliance with theſe princes, to take part with them, and to do that thing which he truſted would oblige him to deſiſt [94]. A.D. 1513.

This letter was preſented to Henry by lord Lion in the camp before Terouenne, who, having peruſed it, told the herald, he was ready to return an anſwer if he would promiſe to report it to his maſter. "I am (ſaid he) my maſter's moſt "faithful ſervant, and bound to obey his com- "mands, but not thoſe of any other. If it pleaſe "your majeſty, you may communicate your anſwer "in writing, which I ſhall deliver; but my maſter "requires actions rather than words." After conſulting with his council, Henry delivered a letter to the herald, dated Auguſt 12th, written with great aſperity, and containing ſome ſevere reproaches, refuſing, in very poſitive terms, to comply with his requiſition to deſiſt from the proſecution of the war againſt the king of France [95]. But the herald was detained ſo long on the continent by contrary winds, that this letter came too late. Anſwer.

In the mean time James, knowing that Henry would not be deterred by a letter from proſecuting his enterpriſe, was eagerly engaged in raiſing an army to invade England in perſon. From that his queen and ſome of the wiſeſt of his nobility endeavoured to diſſuade him, by repreſenting the Stratagem.

94 Hollingſh. p. 295. 95 Rym. tom. xiii. p. 380.

weak

A. D. 1513. weak ſtate of his family; that he had only one child, an infant of ſixteen months old; that they knew his native intrepidity would precipitate him into danger; and conjured him to conſider in what danger and diſtreſs his family and his country would be involved, if he was either killed or taken priſoner. When all the tears, intreaties, and blandiſhments of his queen, and all the arguments of his counſellors, were ineffectual, they had recourſe to a ſtratagem. As the king was one evening at veſpers in St. Michael's church in Linlithgow, a tall perſonage of a venerable aſpect, with a long beard, dreſſed in a gown of azure blue, girt about his body with a white ſaſh, made his way through the crowd; and leaning on the king's deſk, ſaid, "I am ſent from heaven, O king! to "warn you not to proceed on your intended enter-"priſe, which will be unfortunate; and to charge "you to abſtain from all familiarities with women, "or the conſequences will be moſt fatal." Having ſpoken thus, he retired. When prayers were ended, the king inquired for him, in order to examine him: but he could not be found; having, moſt probably, retired to his accomplices in the palace, which, is only a few paces from the church [96].

King James invades England.

All the arguments and arts that were employed to diſſuade or deter James from the intended expedition, ſerved only to render him more determined and precipitate. Without waiting for all

[96] Buchan. lib. xiii. p. 251. Buchanan was told this ſtory by ſir David Lindſay of the Mount who was ſtanding near the king.

his

his forces, or for the return of his herald, he marched with the troops he had collected to the borders, paſſed the Tweed, Auguſt 22d, and encamped on that and the two following days on Twiſel-haugh. At that place, Auguſt 24th, he publiſhed an act or declaration, with the conſent of his nobles, "That the heirs of all who were "killed or died in the army during that expedition, "ſhould pay nothing for their wardſhip, relief, or "marriage, without any regard to their age[97]." A. D. 1513.

The army in a few days made themſelves maſters of the caſtles of Wark, Norham, Heaton, and Etal, and in part demoliſhed them. The caſtle of Ford was alſo taken, but preſerved from demolition by the lady of the manſion. In this caſtle, it is ſaid, James forgot the charge that had been given him by the apparition at Linlithgow, and, captivated by the converſation or perſonal charms of the lady, miſ-ſpent his time, and neglected his affairs. However that may be the army remained about Ford ſeveral days in a ſtate of inaction, and great numbers took that opportunity of deſerting and returning home, ſome to ſecure the booty they had got, and others from diſcontent, or to avoid fatigue or danger. By this moſt unſeaſonable deſertion the army was equally weakened and diſpirited[98]. Takes ſome caſtles.

As the Engliſh had long expected, ſo they were well prepared for this invaſion. As ſoon as the earl of Surry received intelligence that the Scots Proceedings of the earl of Surry.

[97] Black Acts, f. 110.

[98] Drummond, p. 74. Hall, f. 37, 38. Buchan. p. 251.

were

A.D.1513. were beginning to collect their forces, he diſpatched meſſengers to all the noblemen and gentlemen in the northern counties to meet him, with all their followers, who had been muſtered and trained on the firſt day of September at Newcaſtle. He ſet out from York Auguſt 27th; and though the roads were bad and the weather ſtormy, he marched day and night till he arrived at Durham; there he received the news of the ſurrender of Norham, which was believed to be impregnable, and whoſe captain had promiſed to keep the Scots at bay till the king returned from France. Having received the banner of St. Cuthbert from the prior, he proceeded Auguſt 30th to Newcaſtle, where he was joined by the lord Dacres, and many other chieftains, with their followers. Here a council of war was held, and the troops from all parts were appointed to rendezvous, September 4th, at Bolton in Glendale, about twenty miles from Ford, where the Scots army lay. The earl marched from Newcaſtle September 3d, to make room for the forces that were daily coming forward, and arrived at Alnwick that evening. There, on Sunday September 4th, he was joined by his heroic ſon the lord admiral of England, with a body of choice troops from the Engliſh army before Terouenne. This moſt fortunate junction, at ſo critical a time, gave great joy to the earl his father, and to the whole army [99].

Defiance. From Alnwick the earl of Surry ſent a herald to the king, to accuſe him of having broken the

[99] Hall, f. 37, 38.

ſolemn

ſolemn oath he had taken to obſerve the treaty of perpetual peace, and to offer him battle on Friday September 9th, if he dared to abide till then on the territories of his maſter the king of England. The lord admiral ſent a meſſage to the king by the ſame herald, "That he had come from the continent to juſtify the ſlaughter of the pirate "Andrew Bertoun: That he would take no quarter, and give none to any but the king." James, conſulting only his own intrepid ſpirit, accepted the offer of a battle with alacrity; and in a ſhort paper written by his ſecretary, vindicated himſelf from the accuſation of having broken his oath, by obſerving, "Our brother was bound as far to us as "we to him; and when we ſwore laſt before his "ambaſſadors, in preſence of our council, we "expreſſed ſpecially in our oath that we would "keep to our brother, if our brother kept to us, "and not elſe. We ſwear our brother broke firſt "to us [100]." We hear of no return he made to the lord admiral. A.D. 1513.

His nobility had before this earneſtly importuned their king to return into Scotland, and ſupported their advice with ſtrong arguments. "He had "done enough (they ſaid) for his allies, by "detaining ſo great an army at home, and cauſing "ſo many troops to return from the continent. "He had alſo gained ſufficient honour by taking "and demoliſhing ſo many caſtles, and enriching "his ſubjects with the ſpoils of their enemies. So "many of their followers had gone home with Advice of the Scots nobility.

[100] Hall, f. 40.

"theſe

A. D. 1513. "theſe ſpoils, and thoſe who remained were ſo "much weakened by fatigue and ſcarcity of pro- "viſions, that their army was become ſo inferior "to that of the enemy both in ſtrength and "numbers, that the riſk on both ſides was not "equal. Scotland hazarded her king, and almoſt "all her nobility; England only a part of her "nobility and common people: nor did the advan- "tages to be gained by a victory, bear any pro- "portion to the ruinous conſequences of a defeat." Theſe and other arguments were urged with ſo much warmth by Archibald Bell-the-cat earl of Angus, that the king in a paſſion told him, "If he was afraid, he might be gone." Irritated at the imputation of cowardice, which he did not deſerve, and foreſeeing the conſequence, of the raſh imprudent counſels that were adopted, he departed, but left two of his ſons, and the greateſt part of his followers, with the army [101].

Encamp at Flodden. The noblemen and other chieftains finding the king was determined to give the Engliſh battle, intreated him to chooſe an advantageous ſituation, and prevailed on him to remove his camp from Ford to Flodden, a riſing ground at a ſmall diſtance on the ſkirts of Cheviot. This was a very well choſen poſt, which might have been made very ſtrong by a little art and labour. But theſe were not employed; only a battery was formed, and mounted with cannon pointing directly upon the bridge over the river Till. The ſoldiers built huts of earth, and covered them with ſtraw, to

[101] Buchan. p. 252.

ſcreen

ſcreen themſelves from the inclemency of the weather, which was very rainy, and there waited the approach of the enemy. A. D. 1513.

When all the Engliſh forces rendezvouſed at Bolton September 5th, they were found to amount to twenty-ſix thouſand fighting men well armed and appointed in all reſpects, and impatient for action. They marched September 6th to Woollerhaugh, within three miles of the Scots camp, and there reſted all the next day. The earl of Surry having diſcovered by his ſpies the ſituation the Scots had choſen, formed a ſcheme which he hoped would make them relinquiſh that advantage. Knowing the king's undaunted courage and high ſenſe of honour, he wrote a letter, ſubſcribed by himſelf and all the great men in his army, reproaching him for having changed his ground after he had accepted the offer of battle, and challenging him to deſcend, like a brave and honourable prince, into the ſpacious vale of Milfield that lay between the two armies, and there decide the quarrel on fair and equal terms. This ſcheme did not ſucceed. The king would not admit the herald who brought the letter into his preſence, but ſent him this verbal anſwer: "That it did not become an "earl to dictate to a king: That he would uſe no "diſhonourable arts, and expected victory from "the juſtice of his cauſe and the bravery of his "ſubjects, and not from any advantage of "ground [102]." A ſtrata-gem.

[102] Hall, f. 41.

A. D. 1513. March of the Engliſh.

The Engliſh army decamped from Woollerhaugh September 8th; but inſtead of marching down the banks of the Till towards the Scots, they paſſed that river near Wooller, directed their courſe towards Berwick, and encamped that night at Barmore. This made the Scots noblemen imagine that the enemy deſigned to paſs the Tweed at Berwick, and plunder the fertile country of the Merſe; and they importuned their ſovereign to decamp, and march to the defence of his own dominions. But he declared that his honour was engaged, and that he was determined to abide there all the next day, which was the day appointed for the battle [103].

The two armies in preſence.

The Engliſh decamped from Barmore Friday morning September 9th, and directed their courſe towards the Tweed; which ſeems to have convinced the Scots that they deſigned to paſs that river. About noon they ſet fire to their huts, the ſmoke of which prevented them from ſeeing their enemies, who had changed their direction, and marched with great expedition towards the Till. When the ſmoke was diſſipated, the Engliſh infantry were ſeen paſſing that river by Twiſel bridge, and the cavalry at a ford a little higher. At that moment Robert Borthwick, who commanded the artillery, fell on his knees before the king, and begged his permiſſion to fire upon the bridge, which, he ſaid, he could break down, and prevent the rear of the enemy from paſſing. "If you fire

[103] Hall, f. 42. Buchan. p. 253.

"one

"one ſhot upon the bridge" (cried the infatuated monarch) "I will command you to be hanged, "drawn, and quartered. I will have all my "enemies before me, and fight them fairly [104]." His nobles preſſed him to take his ſtation on a riſing ground in the rear of the army, whence he might ſee the whole field, and give the neceſſary commands. "No," (ſaid he,) "I will live and die "with my brave ſubjects; and if we obtain the "victory, as I hope we ſhall, I will have my ſhare "of the honour [105]." An imprudent and fatal reſolution. A. D. 1513.

The battle of Flodden.

As ſoon as the Engliſh paſſed the Till they were drawn up in two lines, each conſiſting of a main battle (as it was called) in the centre, and two wings, with a ſtrong body of reſerve in the rear of both lines. The Scots were drawn up in one line, with a body of reſerve in the rear. The battle began about four o'clock in the afternoon by a diſcharge of the artillery on both ſides. Thoſe of the Scots being ſituated too high, the balls flew over the heads of their enemies; but thoſe of the Engliſh did great execution, which made the Scots impatient to come to a cloſer engagement. The earls of Huntley and Hume made a furious attack upon the right wing of the Engliſh, and threw it into diſorder. The undiſciplined Highlanders in the right wing of the Scots army obſerving this advantage, became ungovernable, broke their ranks, and ruſhed down in a tumultuary manner upon the left wing of the Engliſh, commanded by the lord

[104] Pitſcottie, p. 116. [105] Abercromby, p. 535. Hollingſh. p. 300.

A.D. 1513. Stanley. They were received with a calm and ſteady courage; and after a fierce and bloody ſtruggle, in which their two leaders, the earls of Argyle and Lennox, fell, they were put to flight, and purſued a conſiderable way up the hill. By this time the main battle of the Scots, conducted by their king on foot, (accompanied by his amiable and accompliſhed ſon the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, with ſeveral other perſons eminent for their rank and valour,) had engaged the main battle of the Engliſh, commanded by the earl of Surry, aſſiſted by his valiant ſon the lord admiral. As theſe two great bodies approached each other the archers diſcharged flights of arrows, with one of which, it is ſaid, the king was wounded. They ſoon came to a cloſe engagement, hand to hand, and body to body, with ſwords, ſpears, ſpikes, and other inſtruments of death. The earl of Surry was ſupported by his ſecond line and by the lord Stanley, the king by the earls of Bothwell and Huntley, and their followers. Then the battle raged with uncommon fury and great ſlaughter, till night put an end to the bloody conteſt, without its being known who had obtained the victory. The Engliſh retired a little from the field, and reſted all night upon their arms. Their Scots having loſt their leaders, and being near their own country, went off in ſmall parties in the night, ſome over the Tweed at Coldſtream, and others by the dry marches. The earl of Hume and his numerous followers, who had not engaged in the laſt cruel conflict, and others who joined them, remained

remained on the field all night, employed in ſtripping the dead, and retired early in the morning with their booty, leaving the cannon behind them [106]. A. D 1513.

When the Engliſh approached the field of battle next morning, they found it abandoned, and no enemy to be ſeen, which gave them a good title to claim the victory. This title became much clearer, when the ſtate of the loſs of both armies was known. In point of numbers, it was nearly equal on both ſides; but in the quality and importance of the perſons ſlain, it was very different. James, impelled by his natural ardour and intrepidity, ruſhed into the midſt of danger; and his nobles, animated, or rather miſled, by his example, acted the ſame part. The conſequence of this was, that the Scots loſt their king and the flower of their nobility; a loſs which the moſt complete victory could not have compenſated. The king's body was found among the dead, and known by the lord Dacres, who had been ambaſſador at his court only a few months before, and was perfectly well acquainted with his perſon. It was conveyed to Berwick, and there ſhewn to ſir William Scot and ſir John Foreman his ſerjeant porter, who burſt into tears at the ſight, and acknowledged that it was the body of their beloved Great loſs of Scots.

106 Deſcriptions of this famous battle have been given by all our hiſtorians, of both nations, and by ſeveral foreigners. Thoſe of them who lived neareſt the time, ſeem to have written under the influence of national prejudices, and their accounts are very contradictory. The above is what hath appeared to me moſt probable, and neareſt the truth.

A. D. 1513. maſter [107]. The idle contradictory tales of his eſcape from the battle that were long believed by the vulgar, are unworthy of a place in hiſtory. Alexander Stewart, archbiſhop of St. Andrews, the king's natural ſon, and the pupil of Eraſmus, a youth of great hopes, was found dead by the ſide of his royal father; with George Hepburn, the marſhal biſhop of the iſles; and the abbots of Kilwinning and Incheffray. No fewer than twelve earls, thirteen lords, and about four hundred knights and gentlemen of Scotland fell in this fatal battle [108]: a moſt deplorable loſs to ſo ſmall a kingdom; and yet the ſurvivors were not diſpirited [109].

James buried. The king's body was embalmed at Berwick, and ſent from thence to the monaſtery of Sheene near Richmond, where it lay a conſiderable time unburied, becauſe he had been excommunicated by the pope for his adherence to the king of France, and his oppoſition to the holy league. King Henry applied to the pope to take off the ſentence of excommunication, that he might bury his late brother-in-law, (who had, he ſaid, exhibited ſigns of contrition in his dying moments,) in the cathedral of St. Paul's, as he intended. His holineſs, out of his regard to the king of England, to the royal dignity and many virtues of the late king of Scotland, granted authority to the biſhop of London

[107] Hall, f. 43.

[108] Abercromby, p. 546. Weaver's Fun. Mon. p. 834.

[109] See ſir David Dalrymple's Remarks on the Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 147.

to

to take off the ſentence of excommunication, if upon trial he found ſufficient evidences of his contrition [110]. This farce was accordingly acted; the dead prince was tried, abſolved, and at laſt buried, not in St. Paul's, but in the monaſtery of Sheene, where his body, wrapt in lead, was ſeen long after by Mr. Stowe the hiſtorian [111]. A. D. 1513.

James IV. was killed at Flodden September 9th, A. D. 1513, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign. He was of a middle ſtature, remarkably ſtrong and agile. By continual exerciſe he became capable of bearing very uncommon degrees of labour, cold, thirſt, and hunger. His face was ſweet and amiable; and he had ſo great a command of his countenance, if not of his paſſions, that he ſeldom changed colour on hearing good or bad news. He was eaſy of acceſs, and his deportment was at once digniſied and affable, never uſing harſh or ſevere expreſſions, even when he was offended. He excelled in all the martial and manly exerciſes that were admired and faſhionable in his time, and made a diſtinguiſhed figure at all tilts and tournaments, in which he perſonated king Arthur, or the ſavage knight, in honour of his lady the queen of France. His ſenſe of honour was high and a little romantic, having imbibed no ſmall portion of the ſpirit of ancient chivalry, which influenced him not only in his diverſions, but in his moſt important affairs. His perſonal courage was of that kind which courts rather than avoids danger; and his hiſtory Character of James IV.

[110] Rym. tom. xiii, p. 385. [111] Stowe, p. 494.

A. D. 1513. affords a ſtriking proof that a prince may have too much as well as too little perſonal courage, and that the former of theſe extremes may be as fatal to himſelf and to his ſubjects as the latter. Though he was not learned, he was a friend to learning, and contributed to promote it, both by his laws and by his bounty. Like his father, he had a taſte for the arts, particularly for eccleſiaſtical, civil, and naval architecture. He built ſeveral churches in a good ſtyle, repaired and ornamented his palaces, and his great ſhip the St. Michael was univerſally admired. His court was greater and more ſplendid than that of any of his predeceſſors, or indeed than his revenues could well afford. In the adminiſtration of juſtice he was as rigorous as he was equitable, and reduced even the remote parts of his kingdom to ſome degree of order and ſubmiſſion to the laws. Some of our hiſtorians, particularly biſhop Leſly, are laviſh in their praiſes of his piety; which, according to their account, was not of the moſt rational kind, but conſiſted very much in pilgrimages to the ſhrines of different ſaints for obtaining the pardon of his ſins; and in doing this, he ſometimes added to their number. It was in one of theſe pious peregrinations that he ſeduced the lady Jean Kennedy, a daughter of the earl of Caſſillis. His inordinate paſſion for the ſex was indeed the greateſt blemiſh in his character, and proved one of the cauſes of his ruin.

His iſſue. James IV. had by his queen four ſons:—1. James, born February 25th, A. D. 1508, who died 14th July 1510. 2. Arthur, born 20th October 1509, who

who died in his infancy. 3. James, born 5th April 1511, who ſucceeded him. 4. Alexander, a poſthumous ſon, born 30th April 1514, who died 15th January 1517. His natural children mentioned in hiſtory were theſe:—1. Alexander archbiſhop of St. Andrews, by Mary Boyd, daughter of Archibald Boyd of Bonſhaw. 2. Catherine, married to James earl of Morton, by the ſame lady. 3. James earl of Moray, by lady Jean Kennedy, a daughter of the earl of Caſſillis. 4. Margaret, married to John lord Gordon, by Margaret, daughter of John lord Drummond. 5. Jean, married to Malcolm lord Fleming, by lady Iſabel Stewart, daughter of James earl of Buchan[112]. A. D. 1513.

SECT. II.

From the Acceſſion of James V. A. D. 1513, *to his Death*, A. D. 1542.

AT the acceſſion of James V. when he was only one year five months and four days old, Scotland was in great confuſion and diſtreſs; a ſcene of ſorrow and lamentation for the loſs of the king, the flower of the nobility and gentry, and of ſome thouſands of inferior rank, who all fell in the fatal battle of Flodden. But in the midſt of this diſtreſs no ſymptoms of deſpair appeared, no thoughts of ſubmiſſion were entertained. An invaſion was ex- State of Scotland.

[112] Crawford's Hiſtory of the Stewarts, p. 32, 33.

pected,

A. D. 1513. pected, and a vigorous reſiſtance was reſolved [113], Contrary to their expectation, the enemy did not diſcover a great inclination to improve the advantage they had gained. A troop of ſixty horſemen ventured to paſs the Tweed and Colſtream on the morning after the battle, and were all taken priſoners [114]. Though the earl of Surry was ſufficiently elated by his victory, he did not think it prudent to purſue it, but diſbanded his army and returned to London, which gave the Scots leiſure to ſettle their government.

The queen regent. The late king had by his laſt will appointed the queen to be regent of the kingdom, and guardian to her ſon, while ſhe continued a widow. In that capacity ſhe called a convention of the three eſtates to meet at Stirling December 21ſt, where they ſwore fealty to their infant monarch, and then adjourned to Edinburgh, to hold a parliament [115]. By this parliament the queen was acknowledged regent, though no woman before had ever borne that office; but a cabinet council was appointed, conſiſting of James Beaton, archbiſhop of Glaſgow, the earls of Arran, Huntley, and Angus, without whoſe advice ſhe was to tranſact no buſineſs of importance [116].

A. D. 1514. The queen writes to her brother. As ſoon as the queen was thus eſtabliſhed in the government, ſhe wrote to her brother, the king of England, earneſtly entreating him not to diſtreſs her and her infant ſon, his neareſt relations, by making war upon them. Henry, who was natu-

[113] Epiſtolæ R. S. tom. i. p. 186.
[114] Hall, f. 43.
[115] Leſly, p. 367.
[116] Ibid.

rally

rally affectionate to his relations, anſwered, that the Scots ſhould have either peace or war as they inclined. If they choſe war, they ſhould have war; if they choſe peace, they ſhould have peace [117]. This was a prudent, as well as a humane reſolution; as he was then engaged in a war with France, in which he had been ſhamefully deſerted by his faithleſs confederates, the pope, the emperor, and the king of Spain. A truce for one year and one day, it is ſaid, was made in the beginning of this year; but of this there is not ſufficient evidence. A. D 1514.

The queen was delivered of a ſon April 30th, who was named Alexander, but died January 15th, A. D. 1517. This princeſs was only in the twenty-fourth year of her age; and though ſhe knew that the continuance of her power depended on her continuing a widow, love triumphed over ambition, and ſhe married, Auguſt 6th, Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, without having conſulted her brother, the king of England, or any of her own council. She had this apology to make for herſelf, that the nobleman ſhe had choſen for her huſband was young, handſome, rich, and powerful, the head of one of the moſt illuſtrious families in the kingdom. This marriage, however, was unfortunate, and proved the ſource of much diſquiet to herſelf, and of many calamities to Scotland [118]. The queen's marriage.

On the day after the queen's marriage, Auguſt 7th, a peace was concluded at London, between France and England, in which the Scots, as the allies of France, were comprehended, on the fol-

[117] Drummond, p. 156. Buchan. p. 256. [118] Leſly, p. 370.

lowing

A.D. 1514. lowing reaſonable conditions: 1. That the Scots did not invade England, by the authority of their government, after the 15th of September next. 2. That they did not make any incurſion without that authority, with above three hundred men. 3. That they intimated their willingneſs to be comprehended in the peace [119]. This is a proof that there was no truce between the Engliſh and Scots at this time. It is alſo a proof that the French did not deſerve the reproaches that have been caſt upon them by ſome of our hiſtorians, of having abandoned the Scots in this treaty, who had ſuffered ſo much on their account [120]. Lewis XII. was incapable of an action ſo diſhonourable.

Duke of Albany choſen governor.

No ſooner were the Scots delivered from all apprehenſions of a war with England, than they fell into the moſt violent internal broils. Theſe were occaſioned partly by a competition for the archbiſhopric of St. Andrews, which ſhall be related in its proper place, and partly by the queen's marriage. When that marriage was made public, it gave great offence to ſeveral of the young nobility, who thought themſelves ſlighted, and to ſome of the ancient counſellors, who had not been conſulted; but to none more than to the archbiſhop of Glaſgow and the earl of Arran, two of the cabinet council appointed by parliament. The queen devolved all her authority upon her huſband, who, we may preſume, was not a little elated by ſo great an acceſſion of honour, power, and wealth, which increaſed the number and inflamed the

[119] Rym. tom. xiii. p. 419. [120] Leſly, p. 371.

paſſions

paſſions of his enemies. It was the common cry of theſe enemies, that the queen had forfeited all title to the government by her marriage, and that another governor ſhould be immediately choſen. They did not agree ſo well in their choice of the perſon to be advanced to that dignity. Some propoſed the earl of Arran, the king's near relation; but Alexander lord Hume, who, on account of his great experience, his great eſtate, and numerous vaſſals, had no little influence, ſo ſtrenuouſly ſupported the nomination of the duke of Albany, that he was choſen, and a deputation was ſent into France, to invite him to come immediately into Scotland, to take upon him the government of the kingdom [121]. A. D. 1514.

John duke of Albany ſtood in the ſame relation to the king with the earl of Arran, but with this advantage, that it was by the male line. The earl of Arran was the ſon of the lady Margaret, ſiſter to James III.; the duke was the ſon of Alexander duke of Albany, brother to that prince. The duke inherited great eſtates in France by his mother the counteſs of Boulogne, was in high favour with the king of France, and had acquired the reputation of a brave and able commander in the wars of Italy. Though Lewis XII. was pleaſed to ſee one of his ſubjects, on whoſe attachment he could depend, advanced to the government of Scotland, he did not think it prudent to give umbrage to the king of England, (with whom he had lately concluded a peace, and whoſe ſiſter he was about to marry,) by ſending the duke of Embaſſy.

[121] Leſley, p. 369. Buchan. p. 256.

Albany

A. D. 1514. Albany to ſupplant his other ſiſter, the queen of Scotland. Nor was the duke very willing to undertake the government of a nation to whoſe language, laws, and manners he was a ſtranger, till he knew with what powers he was to be inveſted, and what advantages he was to enjoy. In particular, he inſiſted on being reſtored to his father's honours and eſtates that had been confiſcated and annexed to the crown. He ſent his friend, monſieur De La Beauté, who arrived in Scotland November 20th, to excuſe his not coming till after the king of France's marriage, (at which he was obliged to attend,) and to ſettle all preliminaries. His party was now ſo ſtrong that preliminaries were ſoon ſettled; he was reſtored to all his father's honours and eſtate; and by way of ſecurity, the caſtle of Dunbar was delivered to his ambaſſador [121].

A. D. 1515. Deplorable ſtate of Scotland. In the mean time Scotland was a ſcene of the moſt deplorable anarchy. The heads of clans purſued their family feuds without reſtraint; thieves and robbers followed their infamous employments with impunity; the poor and peaceable were plundered and oppreſſed. The queen, or rather the earl of Angus in her name, continued to exerciſe ſome authority; but it ſerved only to increaſe the diſorders of their country, and the number and violence of their own enemies. Provoked at the exclamations of Beaton, archbiſhop of Glaſgow, againſt their marriage, they deprived him of the office of chancellor. This inflamed his reſentment beyond meaſure. He put on armour under

[121] Drummond, p. 160.

his

his pontifical robes, came to Edinburgh at the head of the vaſſals of his ſee, and being joined by the Hamiltons, fought a kind of pitched battle againſt Angus and the Douglaſſes in the ſtreets of the metropolis [123]. In this action the prelate and his friends were put to flight, about ſeventy were killed, and among theſe were ſeveral perſons of rank. The earls of Lennox and Glencairn took the caſtle of Dunbarton by ſurpriſe, and turned out the lord Erſkine and his garriſon [124]. Theſe and other diſorders made the nation in general, and eſpecially thoſe who favoured the French, impatient for the arrival of the duke of Albany, from whoſe adminiſtration they expected great advantages. The prevalence of the French party, and the popularity of the duke of Albany, were ſo great at this time, that the queen and her huſband thought it prudent to ſecure an aſylum in England; and on January 23d, they obtained a ſafe-conduct for themſelves and three hundred perſons in their company, to come into England and reſide in it one year [125]. A.D. 1515.

Arrival of the duke of Albany.

Though the duke of Albany had been much importuned by his party in Scotland to haſten his arrival in that kingdom, he was detained in France ſeveral months by various events; particularly by the marriage of Lewis XII. with the princeſs Mary of England, the death of that prince, the acceſſion of Francis I. and the negotiations of peace between France and England. While theſe things were in agitation, it was not thought prudent to

123 Pitſcottie, p. 121. 124 Leſly, p. 374. 125 Rym. p. 473.

provoke

A. D 1515. provoke Henry, by ſending the duke into Scotland. But the treaty of peace (in which the Scots were included) having been ſigned April 5th, he was permitted to depart with a convoy of eight ſtout ſhips, and landed May 18th at the town of Ayr [126].

Parliament. The nobility and gentry of both parties crowded from all corners to attend the duke, as ſoon as they heard of his arrival, and conducted him to the capital. The queen, yielding with a good grace to a torrent that ſhe could not ſtem, met him between Glaſgow and Edinburgh, with her congratulations, which, we may preſume, were not very ſincere [127]. In a parliament that met at Edinburgh July 12th, the three eſtates took an oath of obedience to the duke of Albany, as guardian to the king, and governor of the kingdom during the king's minority; and the duke took an oath to protect them in all their liberties, and to govern according to the laws of the land. The duke was put in poſſeſſion of all his father's eſtates and honours, and his titles in all public acts were theſe: John duke of Albany, earl of March, Mar, and Garcoch, lord of Annandale and the Iſle of Man, tutor to the king, and regent of Scotland [128].

Peace. The duke immediately after he landed entered upon the government, and wrote from Glaſgow May 22d, to the king of France; notifying his approbation of a letter that had been written to

126. Rym. p. 476—487. Epiſt. Regum Scotorum, p. 233.
127. Drummond, pp. 160.
128. Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum. Rym. tom. xiii. p. 510.

that

that king by the council of Scotland three days before his arrival; giving their conſent to be comprehended in the peace he had lately made with England. The letter of the Scots council, which he thus approved, was a very ſpirited performance; in which they told the king of France, that they had entertained no thoughts of a peace or truce with England, but had been reſolved upon revenge; and that it was out of reſpect to him, and at his earneſt requeſt, that they conſented to be comprehended in the peace [129]. A. D. 1515.

A kind of peace with England, though certainly not very cordial, being thus reſtored, the duke applied himſelf with vigour to correct the internal diſorders of the ſtate, by eſtabliſhing the authority of the laws, and bringing thoſe who violated them to juſtice. To convince the great that they were no longer to commit acts of violence with impunity, he brought the lord Drummond to trial, for having given the lord Lion a blow within the verge of the court, confiſcated his eſtate, and with great difficulty was prevailed upon to ſpare his life [130]. One Peter Moffat, a noted robber, having had the impudence to appear at court, was ſeized, condemned, and executed; which ſtruck terror into all his aſſociates, and others of a ſimilar character [131]. By theſe and other ſpirited acts of juſtice, a viſible change was ſoon produced on the ſtate of the country; and ſecurity, peace, and good order, were introduced. The laws executed.

[129] Rym. p. 508—512.
[130] Leſly, p. 360.
[131] Buchan. p. 258.

A. D. 1515. Letter to the pope.

Henry VIII. was far from being pleaſed with the eſtabliſhment of the duke of Albany in the government of Scotland, as he knew him to be wholly devoted to France. He attempted therefore to deprive him of that government, by aſſuming it to himſelf, on account of his being uncle to the young king, and conſequently the natural guardian of his perſon, and protector of his dominions. This claim, which Henry had communicated to the pope, rouſed the indignation and jealouſy of the Scots. They wrote a very ſtrong letter to his holineſs July 3d, in which they declared, that their king, with the conſent of the three eſtates, and of the queen his mother, had choſen his neareſt relation the duke of Albany, for his guardian and governor of his kingdom; that the kings of Scotland, in their minority, had never needed any foreign protectors; and particularly that the kings of England, though they had often attempted it, had never obtained any authority over them, or direction in their affairs. In the concluſion, they conjure the pope not to conſider any perſon as governor of Scotland but the duke of Albany, and to grant the prelacies of the kingdom only on his nomination [132].

The regent deceived.

Though the duke of Albany was an accompliſhed prince, and animated with the beſt intentions, he laboured under ſome diſadvantages, that rendered his adminiſtration neither ſo comfortable to himſelf, nor ſo beneficial to his country, as it would otherwiſe have been. A ſtranger to the

[132] Rym. p 513. Epiſt. Regum Scotorum, p. 233.

language,

language, laws, and manners of the people in general, and unacquainted with the characters, connexions, and circumſtances of the leading men of the nation, he was expoſed to the danger of being deceived, and infected with the paſſions of thoſe from whom he received his information. This actually happened. John Hepburn, prior of St. Andrews, unfortunately gained his confidence, and gave him ſuch impreſſions as he pleaſed. Hepburn was eloquent, plauſible, and inſinuating, but deceitful, covetous, and vindictive; inflamed with the moſt implacable hatred againſt the earl of Angus and the lord Hume, becauſe they had ſucceſsfully oppoſed his pretenſions to the primacy. He laboured therefore with much art and aſſiduity to alienate the mind of the regent from thoſe two noblemen, and to inſpire him with jealouſy of their power and ambition; and his labours were too ſucceſsful [133]. A.D. 1515.

The lord Hume ſoon perceived a change in the countenance and behaviour of the regent towards him, which he could not bear with patience. Irritated at his ingratitude, and too proud to endure contempt, he reſolved upon revenge, and determined to pull him down from the eminence to which he had raiſed him. With this view he ſolicited a reconciliation with the queen and her huſband, which was eaſily obtained; and it was agreed, that the queen ſhould fly with her two ſons into England, and put herſelf and them under the protection of her brother. But this moſt danger- A conſpiracy.

[133] Buchan. p. 258.

A.D.1515. ous plot being discovered to the regent, he flew to Stirling August 10th, was admitted into the castle, and committed the two princes to the custody of three noblemen on whose fidelity he could depend [134].

The conspirators fly to England.

The conspirators finding that their plot was discovered, consulted their safety by flight. The lord Hume, with his brother William, and a number of his most resolute followers, retired into England, where they were well received. The queen, and her husband the earl of Angus, took sanctuary in a nunnery at Coldstream, and there waited the return of a messenger they had sent to the court of England. The messenger returned with orders to the lord Dacres, warden of the marches, to receive the queen of Scotland with all the honours due to her rank, and conduct her to the castle of Harbotle. In that castle she was delivered October 7th, of a daughter, the lady Margaret Douglas, who became the mother of lord Darnly, and the grandmother of king James, the first monarch of Great Britain [135].

The queen's retreat, or rather flight, gave no little uneasiness to the regent. He wished to preserve peace with England, and he apprehended that she would give so provoking a representation of his conduct as would produce a war. To prevent this, he dispatched an ambassador to London, to express the great surprise and sorrow he had felt on the queen's retreat; to declare that he had given her no reason for taking that step; and to

[134] Buchan. p. 259. Lesly, p. 377. [135] Ibid.

give

give the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that if ſhe would return ſhe ſhould be treated with all poſſible reſpect and honour, and permitted to enjoy all her poſſeſſions and rights in peace [136]. Theſe declarations prevented a war, but did not induce the queen to return. A. D. 1515.

Lord Hume impriſoned.

The Lord Hume, and the deſperadoes who followed him, haraſſed the borders of Scotland, in the months of Auguſt and September, with frequent incurſions, which ſo irritated the regent, that he cauſed all their houſes and lands to be ſeized, and marched with ſome troops to the borders, to put a ſtop to theſe depredations. The earl of Angus, who had remained quiet, having received a private invitation and promiſe of impunity, came to the regent and was very favourable received. The lord Hume and his brother, either encouraged by this, or diſpirited by their loſſes, came October 6th, and threw themſelves at the regent's feet, and implored his mercy; but they did not meet with the ſame favourable reception. They were conducted to Edinburgh, committed to the caſtle, to the cuſtody of their brother-in-law, the earl of Arran, with a declaration, that if he ſuffered them to eſcape he ſhould be conſidered as guilty of high treaſon [137].

Rebellion.

It is difficult, or rather impoſſible, to diſcover the ſecret motives that influenced the conduct of that powerful turbulent nobleman Alexander lord Hume on many occaſions, and particularly in the great exertions he uſed to deprive the queen of the regency, to prevent the election of the earl of

[136] Buchan. p. 259. [137] Leſly, p. 378.

A. D. 1515. Arran, his ſiſter's huſband, and to promote the election of the duke of Albany, an abſolute ſtranger. But he diſcovered no little art in his attempts to pull down Albany from the high ſtation to which he had contributed ſo much to raiſe him. He not only drew his two moſt mortal enemies, the queen and the earl of Angus, into a plot againſt the regent, but he now prevailed upon his keeper, the earl of Arran, to betray his truſt, by ſetting him and his brother at liberty, and even to join with them in an open rebellion [138]. They all three went out of the caſtle on foot in the middle of the night in the month of October, and made all poſſible haſte to raiſe their followers.

The regent, greatly incenſed at the treachery of Arran and the inveteracy of Hume, raiſed a body of troops with his uſual celerity, and inveſted the caſtle of Hamilton, reſolving to raze it to the foundation. But this caſtle contained a very powerful defender, who ſaved both it and its owner from deſtruction. This was the lady Margaret Stewart counteſs Dowager of Arran, daughter of James II. ſiſter of James III. and aunt of James VI. and of the duke of Albany. At the earneſt ſupplication of this venerable lady, the duke deſiſted from the ſiege, and promiſed to pardon her ſon, the earl of Arran, upon his ſubmiſſion. The earl informed of this, ſubmitted and was pardoned [139]. The lord Hume, not having ſo powerful an interceſſor, was not treated with the ſame lenity. By a parliament that was ſitting at the time of his eſcape, he and his two brothers, David and William,

[138] Leſly, p. 378. [139] Ibid. p. 379.

liam, were declared rebels, and their eſtates confiſcated. The Humes, enraged by thoſe ſevere proceedings returned to their predatory incurſions; in one of which they burnt the town of Dunbar, only twenty-ſeven miles from Edinburgh. Such were the confuſions that reigned in Scotland A. D. 1515. A. D. 1515.

The commiſſioners of the two kingdoms met at Coldingham in January, A. D. 1516, and concluded a truce from the middle of that month to Whitſunday. After much oppoſition from the Scots commiſſioners the lord Hume was comprehended in this truce, which ſaved that turbulent chieftain once more from the deſtruction with which he was threatened. His attainder was taken off by a parliament that met in May, and he was reſtored to his eſtate and honours; but with this expreſs declaration, that if he committed any new acts of rebellion or diſobedience, all his former crimes ſhould be remembered againſt him in judgment [140]. A.D. 1516. A truce.

The duke of Albany, and the earl of Angus the queen's huſband, endeavoured to perſuade her to return to Scotland, by giving her the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of an honourable reception, and the enjoyment of all her rights [141], but in vain; ſhe was a princeſs of ſtrong paſſions, and when once offended not eaſily appeaſed. Having ſpent the winter and ſpring in the caſtle of Harbotle, ſhe ſet out for London, where ſhe arrived May 3d, and Queen goes to the Engliſh court.

[140] Drummond, p. 166. Leſly, p. 382.
[141] Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, p. 238.

A.D.1516. was received in the moſt affectionate manner by her brother king Henry and her ſiſter Mary, queen dowager of France[142].

Correſpondence. The queen of Scotland did not conceal her animoſity againſt the duke of Albany, or her fears for the ſafety of her ſon in the cuſtody of the neareſt heir to his crown; and ſhe ſeems to have inſpired her brother with the ſame paſſions. Ambaſſadors from Scotland were then in London negotiating a truce, and by them Henry ſent a letter to the three eſtates, expreſſing in very ſtrong terms his apprehenſions for the ſafety of the infant king his nephew, and intreating them to diveſt the duke of Albany of the regency, and oblige him to return to France, as the only means of preſerving peace between the two kingdoms. To this letter the parliament of Scotland returned a reſpectful, but very ſpirited anſwer; in which they gave the duke of Albany a very high character, for his wiſdom, probity, and honour, and his tender care of the perſon of their young king; "againſt whom," ſaid they, "we firmly believe he would not attempt "any thing, to obtain the three kingdoms of "France, England, and Scotland." They vindicated their own conduct in chuſing the duke to be regent of the kingdom and tutor of the king, as agreeable to the laws of their country and practice of their anceſtors; and declared, that they could not deprive him of the high office to which they had voluntarily raiſed him, without diſhonouring themſelves[143]. This letter was ſubſcribed and

[142] Hall, f. 58. [143] Rym. p. 550.

ſealed

ſealed by all the prelates and lords of parliament at Edinburgh July 4th, A. D. 1516. A.D. 1516.

The duke of Albany ſent his friend, the count De Fayette, to the court of England with this letter, together with certain propoſitions from himſelf, tending to remove miſunderſtandings, and promote peace between the two kingdoms. Theſe propoſitions, ten in number, were well calculated to preſerve peace upon equitable terms; but contained no conceſſions that indicated a fear of war, and breathed the ſame bold independent ſpirit with the parliament's letter. They were referred by Henry to his favourite, cardinal Wolſey; and that haughty prelate aſſented to them all, with a few trivial explanations, to ſave the appearance of an implicit compliance. For example, by the eighth article it is propoſed, that the cuſtody and ſafe-keeping of the king of Scots ſhould belong to the members of his council and the three eſtates of parliament, and that no other perſon ſhould preſume to intermeddle with it. Though this article was evidently contrived to prevent the interference of the king of England, the cardinal aſſented to it, with this unmeaning addition, "provided the "king of Scots be ſafely kept." Three of the articles were calculated to engage the queen dowager to return to Scotland, which the duke of Albany very much deſired; knowing ſhe could do him leſs hurt there, than in the court of England. The cardinal, in his maſter's name, ſigned his aſſent to all the propoſitions July 24th; and on the laſt day of that month he ſigned a prolongation of Propoſitions.

the

A. D. 1516. the truce to November 30th, A. D. 1517, that the plenipotentiaries of the two kingdoms might have time to negotiate a peace [144].

Executions.

The prolongation of the truce with England gave the regent leiſure to attend to the internal police of the country, and to call the moſt dangerous diſturbers and plunderers to an account. The baron of Strouan, a highland chieftain, who, at the head of a band of robbers of his own clan, had long haraſſed the neighbouring countries, was apprehended by the earl of Athol, and beheaded at Logurial, which ſtruck terror into the other plunderers of the remote parts [145]. The next perſon he attacked was of a higher rank and much greater power. This was Alexander lord Hume, hereditary chamberlain of Scotland, warden of all the marches, and the head of a numerous and warlike clan; a nobleman formidable by his power and riches, but ſtill more formidable by his artful, factious, and daring character. While the regent reſided at Faulkland in Auguſt this year, Hepburn, prior of St. Andrews, was often with him in private, and filled his mind with ſo much dread and jealouſy of lord Hume, that he determined his deſtruction. To accompliſh this, he came to Edinburgh in September, and called a convention of the nobles, to which he invited lord Hume by particular letters, earneſtly intreating his attendance. He accordingly ſet out, (contrary to the advice of ſeveral of his friends,) accompanied by his brother William, and his friend ſir Andrew

[144] Rym. p. 574. [145] Leſly, p. 382.

Ker

Ker of Firnehurſt. They were received by the regent with every mark of regard they could deſire, but were ſoon after ſeized and committed to different priſons. They were not ſuffered to languiſh long in confinement. The lord Hume and his brother were brought to their trial October 10th. The recent offences of which they were accuſed, were probably not very great, but advantage was taken of that ſingular clauſe in their laſt pardon, "That if they committed any new offences, their "pardon ſhould be null and void, and all their "former crimes ſhould be laid to their charge." This was accordingly done; they were found guilty of treaſon, and ſentenced to be beheaded, and their heads to be ſet up on the gates of Edinburgh. This ſentence was executed on the lord Hume October 11th, and on his brother the day after[146]. Sir Andrew Ker made his eſcape. This inſidious and ſevere proceeding excited fears and ſuſpicions in ſome of the nobility, and a thirſt for revenge in the friends of the ruined family. A. D. 1516.

The duke of Albany had found the government of Scotland a very difficult and laborious office, and wiſhed for a fair occaſion of returning to France to viſit his family, and to attend to his affairs in that country. Such an occaſion now offered. Francis I. ſent an ambaſſador into Scotland in the ſpring, A. D. 1517, to ſolicit the renewal of the ancient league between the two kingdoms, and the duke prevailed upon a convention of the eſtates to give him a commiſſion to negotiate that affair at A. D. 1517. Albany goes to France.

[146] Leſly, p. 383. Buchan. p. 280.

the

A. D. 1517. the court of France, upon his giving them a promiſe he would return in ſix months. Before his departure, he conſtituted the earls of Arran, Angus, Huntley and Argyle, the archbiſhops of St. Andrews and Glaſgow, with ſir Anthony d'Arcy, Sieur de la Beauté, a French nobleman, his ſubſtitutes. To prevent diſputes among his vicegerents, he allotted a particular diſtrict to each of them; and as he repoſed the greateſt confidence in ſir Anthony d'Arcy, he appointed him warden of the borders, and governor of the neighbouring countries. For the ſecurity of the king's perſon, he brought him from the caſtle of Stirling to the caſtle of Edinburgh, and committed him to the care of the earl of Marſhal, the lords Ruthven and Borthwick, with his governor the lord Erſkine. Still further to prevent commotions, he confined ſome of the moſt turbulent chieftains in the caſtles of Dunbarton, Dunbar, and Garvil. Taking with him the earl of Lennox, with the eldeſt ſons of the earl of Arran, Huntly, and Glencairn, (under the pretence of doing them honour and perfecting their education, but in reality as hoſtages for the good behaviour of their friends,) he embarked at Dunbarton for France about the middle of June [147].

The queen returns to Scotland.

The queen of Scotland having ſpent about fourteen months in the court of England, and hearing of the departure of the duke of Albany, ſet out (attended by a ſplendid train of Engliſh lords and ladies) on her return home. When ſhe arrived at Berwick, ſhe was waited upon by her huſband the

[147] Leſly, p. 367. Buchan. p. 261. Drummond, p. 256.

earl

earl of Angus, who met with a very cold reception. She had been greatly offended with him for deſerting her at Harbotle, and making his peace with the regent; but ſhe was ſtill more offended with him for his galantries during her abſence, of which ſhe had received intelligence. Like her brother Henry, as her love had been violent, her jealouſy was invincible, and ſhe never could be reconciled to him. She was received at Edinburgh with all the honours due to her rank, but was not admitted into the caſtle to viſit her ſon. The lords who had the cuſtody of the king's perſon were of the French faction, and warmly attached to the duke of Albany; they knew that the king's grandfather had been conveyed, or rather ſtolen, out of the caſtle of Edinburgh by the queen his mother; they knew alſo that the preſent queen had once formed a plot to carry her ſon into England, and ſuſpected that ſhe ſtill entertained the ſame deſign. Theſe were the cauſes of their extreme caution, and the only apologies that can be made for their incivility [148]. Upon a report that the plague had appeared at Edinburgh, the king was carried to the caſtle of Craigmillar, where the queen was admitted to viſit him; but her viſits were ſo frequent, that they confirmed the ſuſpicions of the lords who had the care of his perſon; and they conducted him back to the caſtle of Edinburgh, from which the queen was excluded [149]. A.D. 1517.

All the precautions that had been taken by the duke of Albany to prevent diſorders in Scotland The warden ſlain.

[148] See vol. ix. p. 329. [149] Lefly, p. 387.

A. D. 1517. in his abſence were ineffectual. The Sieur de la Beauté, to whom he committed the wardenſhip of the borders, was well qualified for that very difficult offices. He was not only remarkable for the beauty of his perſon and elegance of his manners, but reſpectable for his virtues and abilities. Having no family connexions to bias his mind, he adminiſtered juſtice with courage and impartiality. But theſe virtues ſerved only to increaſe the number, and inflame the rage of his enemies, who diſliked him as a foreigner, and dreaded and deteſted him as a juſt intrepid magiſtrate. As he was holding a court at Dunſe September 20th, attended only by a few gentlemen and his own ſervants, a body of the Humes in arms, headed by ſir David Hume of Wedderburn, came to that place, inſulted him, and killed ſome of his French ſervants. The warden, perceiving his danger, got on horſeback, and attempted to ſave himſelf by flight: but his horſe having unfortunately ſtuck in a marſh, his cruel purſuers came up, inſtantly ſtruck off his head, and carried it in triumph to their leader, who ſet it upon the gate of Hume caſtle [150]. So proud was ſir David Hume of this exploit, that he commanded the warden's hair (which was remarkably long and beautiful) to be cut of, and wore it as a trophy at his ſaddle-bow [151].

Earl of Arran warden.

Though the other governors, it is ſaid, were not much afflicted at the hard fate of the warden, at whoſe promotion they had repined, they could not

[150] Buchan. p. 261. Leſly, p. 387. Drummond, p. 177.
[151] Pitſcottie, p. 130.

overlook

overlook ſo daring an outrage againſt government. A. D. 1517.
In order to bring the delinquents to juſtice, they appointed the earl of Arran warden of the borders. The earl of Angus, who thought himſelf better intitled to that office on account of his eſtates in thoſe parts, was greatly provoked at this appointment, and it gave riſe to a family feud between the Hamiltons and the Douglaſſes, which continued long, and produced very fatal effects [152]. This feud was much inflamed by the ſpirited conduct of Arran, who committed ſir George Douglas the brother, and Mark Carr the friend, of the earl of Angus, to the caſtle of Edinburgh, as confederates and favourers of the Humes.

The earl of Arran, as chief of the deputed governors, called a parliament to meet at Edinburgh February 19th, A. D. 1518. In this parliament ſir David Hume and his accomplices were condemned to death, and their eſtates confiſcated, for the murder of the late warden, and other crimes [153]. A. D. 1518. Parliament.

Immediately after the concluſion of the parliament, the earl of Arran, with a conſiderable army and a train of artillery, marched towards the borders, but he met with no oppoſition, and put garriſons into the caſtles of Hume, Wedderburn, and Lanton. Sir David Hume and his accomplices had previouſly retired into England, where they found a ſecure aſylum [154]. Caſtles ſurrendered.

Though the duke of Albany now reſided in France, he ſtill acted as regent of Scotland, and in Truce.

[152] Leſly, p. 388. [153] Ibid. [154] Ibid.

that

A.D. 1518. that capacity prolonged the truce with England to November 30th, A. D. 1519, to which another year was afterwards added [155]. He took care alſo to have the king and kingdom of Scotland comprehended in the treaty of peace concluded between France and England at London October 2d, A. D. 1518 [156]. By theſe treaties the external peace of the kingdom was for ſome time ſecured.

Diſorders in Scotland.

But notwithſtanding this, the abſence of the duke of Albany was very ſeverely felt by the people of Scotland. While that prince was preſent he kept the fierce and turbulent chieftains in ſome degree of order and ſubmiſſion to the laws, by his ſuperior authority and great abilities; but after his departure the country became a ſcene of violence, anarchy, and confuſion. His ſubſtitutes were at variance among themſelves, and one of them protected the criminal whom another attempted to puniſh. Competitions for offices, and even diſputes about property, were determined by the ſword; and family feuds were proſecuted with unrelenting fury. A kind of pitched battle was fought between the Hamiltons and the Douglaſſes, and their ſeveral partiſans, near Kelſo, in which the Hamiltons were defeated. Sir David Hume of Wedderburn, with his followers, made frequent inroads into the merſe, in one of which, October 6th, A. D. 1519, he killed Robert Blackader, prior of Coldingham, and ſix of his ſervants, to make way for William Douglas, abbot of Holyrood-houſe, and brother to the earl of Angus, who

[155] Rym. tom. xiii. p. 600. [156] Ibid. p. 624.

obtained

obtained that priory. In a word, the Humes became triumphant on the borders, and took poſſeſſion of their caſtles and eſtates that had been forfeited. Their party ſtill prevailing, George, the eldeſt ſurviving brother of the late lord Hume, was reſtored by parliament Auguſt 12th A. D. 1522 [157]. A.D. 1519.

The two great parties, the Engliſh and French, into which Scotland was long divided, were now completely formed. The earl of Angus was the head of the Engliſh, and the earl of Arran, in the abſence of the duke of Albany, was the head of the French party. Such of the nobility as were friends to the peace and proſperity of their country, laboured to bring about a reconciliation between theſe two powerful noblemen, and a meeting was appointed to be held at Edinburgh in May A. D. 1520 for that purpoſe. Angus ſuſpecting no danger, and expecting to be joined by his friends from the Merſe, came to Edinburgh with a ſlender retinue. The earl of Arran and Beaton archbiſhop of Glaſgow, with their friends, finding themſelves much ſtronger than the other party, reſolved to ſhut the gates, and ſeize the earl of Angus and his principal followers. Angus having received intelligence of this deſign, collected and armed his friends; and to gain a little time, ſent his uncle, the famous Gavin Douglas, biſhop of Dunkeld, to the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, to propoſe an amicable conference: but that prelate, having put on armour under his pontifical robes, declared, that upon his conſcience he could not conſent; at A. D. 1520. Skirmiſhes in Edinburgh.

[157] Drummond, p. 173. Hollingſh. p. 306. Records of Parliament.

A. D. 1520. the ſame time ſmiting with violence on his breaſt, which made the plates of his armour rattle. "How "now, my lord! methinks your conſcience clat-"ters," ſaid the good biſhop, and retired, having firſt reproached his grace for a conduct ſo unbecoming his character. The earl of Angus perceiving that he could not eſcape without fighting, drew up his ſmall but brave and determined band, of about eighty gentlemen, on the High-ſtreet within the Netherbow-port. His enemies, who were much more numerous and confident of victory, advanced to the charge: but as they advanced by the narrow lanes that lead from the Cow-gate to the High-ſtreet, they were incommoded by their numbers, and the moſt forward of them being killed as they emerged from theſe lanes, and others ſeeing this and attempting to turn back, threw the whole into confuſion, and they fled on all hands, leaving about ſeventy of their number dead on the ſtreet. The earl of Arran, with his natural ſon ſir James Hamilton, eſcaped over the marſh called the North-loch with great difficulty. The archbiſhop of Glaſgow took ſhelter behind the high altar in the Blackfriars church, from whence he was dragged by his enraged enemies, and would have been killed if the biſhop of Dunkeld had not interpoſed [158].

Conſequences of this ſkirmiſh.

The earl of Arran and his party were much diſpirited by this defeat, and importuned the duke of Albany to return to Scotland. Their adverſaries, elated with their victory, took down the heads of the late lord Hume and his brother from the gates

[158] Buchan. p. 261. Drum. p. 174. Piſcottie, p. 120.

of

of Edinburgh, and buried them with great funeral pomp Auguſt 21ſt A. D. 1520 [159]. They made an excurſion to Linlithgow and Stirling, in hopes of taking the archbiſhop of Glaſgow by ſurpriſe; but being diſappointed, they returned to Edinburgh, and diſmiſſed their followers. A. D. 1520.

The regents and council of Scotland were ſo much engaged in their party quarrels, that they paid no attention to the truce with England, till it was on the point of expiring. Fortunately for them, king Henry and his favourite miniſter, cardinal Wolſey, were ſo much employed in their intrigues and negotiations with the emperor and the king of France, by both of whom they were courted, that they had no leiſure or inclination to quarrel with the Scots: peace was therefore preſerved between the two kingdoms through the whole of this year by ſhort truces [160]. This policy of making only ſhort truces of a month or two, was adopted by the Scots, in conſequence of directions from the duke of Albany, that if a war broke out between France and England, they might be at liberty to aſſiſt their ancient allies. A. D. 1521.

Albany arrives in Scotland.

Though the king of France had bound himſelf, when he made peace with England A. D. 1518, to detain the duke of Albany in France, and not ſuffer him to return to Scotland, he now determined to ſend him into that kingdom to ſupport his party, and diſpoſe the Scots to adhere to their ancient league with France, which had lately been renewed

159 Leſly, p. 395.

160 See Rym. tom. xiii. p. 727, 728. 730. 734. 736. 744, 745.

A. D. 1521. with great ſolemnity. The duke accordingly landed in the weſt of Scotland November 19th, after an abſence of four years and five months, and was joyfully received by the great body of the nation [161].

The Engliſh party broken.

The arrival of the duke of Albany made a great and ſudden change in the ſtate of parties in Scotland. He made his public entry into Edinburgh December 3d, accompanied by the queen dowager, (who had been reconciled to him, and correſponded with him in his abſence,) by the lord chancellor Beaton, the earl of Huntley, and many of the prime nobility. He immediately turned out the magiſtrates of Edinburgh, who were of the Anguſian or Engliſh party, and put his own friends in their place. He then called a parliament to meet at Edinburgh December 26th, and on the 9th of that month he cauſed the earl of Angus and all the chieftains of his party to be ſummoned at the market-croſs of the metropolis, to appear before that parliament to anſwer to the accuſations that were to be brought againſt them. A compromiſe was made, (by the interpoſition, it is ſaid, of the queen,) by which the earl of Angus, and his brother William prior of Coldingham, were allowed to go into voluntary exile in France. Their uncle Gavin Douglas, biſhop of Dunkeld, went to London, and the reſt of their partiſans retired into England. Thus the Engliſh party, which had lately been triumphant, was broken and diſperſed [162]. Henry VIII. was greatly offended at the return of the duke of Albany and his ſevere proceedings; but he was ſtill

[161] Leſly, p. 396. [162] Ibid.

more

more provoked at the queen his ſiſter, for her joining the duke's party. The biſhop of Dun is ſaid to have inflamed his reſentment both againſt his ſiſter and the duke. A.D. 1521.

The duke of Albany in the beginning of this year applied to the court of England for a prolongation of the laſt truce, which was to expire at Candlemas. But Henry VIII. was too much irritated at the duke's return to Scotland to comply with that requiſition; on the contrary, he ſent a very angry letter, dated January 14th A. D. 1522, to the parliament of Scotland then ſitting, declaring, that if they did not immediately diveſt the duke of Albany of the government, and compel him to leave the kingdom, he and his confederates would make war upon them, and do them all the miſchief in their power. The reaſons he aſſigned for this hoſtile declaration were theſe:—his anxiety for the ſafety of his nephew their young king; the danger to which that prince was expoſed, while the next heir to his crown was his guardian; that the duke had committed the cuſtody of the king to a foreigner of little reputation; that his ſiſter the queen dowager was proſecuting a divorce from her lawful huſband, in order to a marriage with the duke, which would involve her in perdition, and expoſe her ſon to great danger; that the duke had left France, though that king had ſolemnly engaged to detain him there; and that he had come into Scotland with a deſign to kindle war between the two kingdoms [163]. A.D. 1522. King Henry's letter to the Scots parliament.

[163] Rym. tom. xiii. p. 761.

A.D. 1522. Anſwer.

To this threatening letter the parliament returned a very ſpirited and ſenſible anſwer, dated February 9th. They expreſs great ſurpriſe that ſo wiſe a prince gave ſo much credit to the falſe and improbable calumnies of traitors, and that he protected and encouraged all the rebels againſt their king his nephew, to whom he profeſſed ſo much love. They declared that the duke of Albany had never interfered with the cuſtody of their king's perſon, but had left that entirely to the queen his mother, his council, and his parliament, who had committed it to four of the moſt aged, wiſe, and honourable noblemen of the kingdom; that he muſt have a very mean opinion of their virtue, honour, and loyalty, if he did not believe that they were at leaſt as anxious as any other perſons could be for the preſervation of their native ſovereign. They aſſure his majeſty, that the report of an intended marriage between the queen and the duke of Albany was an infamous and abſurd calumny, and that they firmly believed that neither of the parties had ever entertained a thought of ſuch a marriage. What private promiſe he had obtained from the king of France about detaining the duke of Albany abroad, they did not pretend to know; but if he had really poſſeſſed all that love to their king his nephew, and all that good-will to them he had often profeſſed, he would have importuned the king of France to ſend him into Scotland, to put an end to their internal broils and miſeries, with which he was not unacquainted. They earneſtly intreat him to withdraw his protection and favour from the biſhop of Dunkeld,

Dunkeld, and the other rebels againſt their king; A. D. 1522.
without which there could be no ſolid peace between the two kingdoms. They conclude with declaring, that though they wiſhed for peace, they were fully determined to take either peace or war, as it ſhould pleaſed God to ſend, rather than conſent to do ſo great an injury to their king and country, ſo great a diſhonour to themſelves, and ſo great a wrong to the lord governor, as to remove him from his office at the requeſt of his grace, or of any other prince; and if his grace made war upon them on that account, they would truſt in God and the juſtice of their cauſe, and defend their king and country, as their anceſtors had often done before them [164]. Henry wrote letters in the ſame ſtrain, containing ſimilar threats and accuſations, and received ſimilar anſwers of denial and defiance [165]. As a laſt effort to intimidate the Scots, Henry commanded the lord Dacres to paſs the borders with five hundred men at arms, and publiſh a proclamation, That if the Scots did not accept of the terms propoſed by the king of England before the firſt of March, he would make war upon them with all his power. This was accordingly done, but without effect [166].

Both nations now prepared for war, which appeared to be unavoidable. Henry availed himſelf of his ſuperior force by ſea, and ſent ſeven great ſhips into the Forth in April; but the coaſts were ſo well guarded that they made little or no impreſ- Preparations for war.

[164] Rym. tom. xiii. p. 761—763. [165] Herbert, p. 51.
[166] Stowe, p. 515.

A. D. 1522. ſion, though they created an alarm, and diverted the Scots from attacking the Engliſh on the borders. In the beginning of July all the French and Scots were baniſhed out of England, and their goods confiſcated [167]. To raiſe a formidable army, all the men between ſixteen and ſixty in the counties of Shrewſbury, Nottingham, Derby, York, Northumberland, Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, Lancaſter, Cheſter, and Durham, were commanded to be ready to march againſt their ancient enemies the Scots, who, it was ſaid, intended to invade England in September; and the earl of Shrewſbury was appointed July 30th lord lieutenant of the north, and general of the army [168].

Parliament. In the mean time the regent of Scotland was not idle. He called a parliament that met at Edinburgh July 22d, in which it was unanimouſly agreed to raiſe an army to defend the kingdom againſt their old enemies the Engliſh. To encourage perſons of all ranks to fight bravely in defence of their country, it was enacted, That the heirs of all the vaſſals of the crown, the regent, the prelates, and barons, who fell in battle, ſhould have their wardſhips, marriages, and reliefs, free; and that the wives and children of yeomen and farmers who were ſlain, ſhould enjoy their tenements for five years at the former rent [169]. When the parliament broke up, the regent and chieftains made haſte to collect their followers.

167 Leſly, p. 399. 168 Rym. p. 772—774.
169 Black Acts, James V. tom. xii.

Before

Before the Scots army was formed, the earl of Shrewſbury, with the readieſt of his troops, made an incurſion into Scotland, and burnt one half, and plundered the other half of the town of Kelſo: but on the approach of the men of Tiviotdale and the Merſe, the Engliſh retired with precipitation. A.D. 1522. Incurſion.

The duke of Albany marched at the head of a numerous army in the beginning of September, and encamped on the banks of the river Eſk, within a few miles of Carliſle: but when he propoſed to paſs that river and invade England, the moſt powerful chieftains in his army refuſed to follow him; and it was with ſome difficulty he prevailed upon them to remain in their camp. The memory of the fatal battle of Flodden was ſtill freſh in their minds; they knew that the preſent war was undertaken ſolely to make a diverſion in favour of the French, and thought it ſufficient for that purpoſe to detain the forces of the north of England at home to defend their country. When things were in this ſituation, the queen of Scotland interpoſed, and by her mediation a truce was concluded between the regent and lord Dacres, warden of the Engliſh borders, for fourteen days; in which time commiſſioners were to be ſent to the court of England, to negotiate a peace, or longer truce. They were accordingly ſent in October; but their negotiations were unſucceſsful, becauſe they inſiſted on the French being included in the peace or truce [170]. Expedition.

[170] Leſly, p. 405. Drum. p. 179.

The

A.D.1523. Albany goes to France.

The duke of Albany was much chagrined at the oppoſition of the Scots nobility to his intended invaſion of England. He was now convinced that his authority as regent was not ſufficient to engage them to make a vigorous attempt upon England in the minority of their king, unleſs he could procure a conſiderable body of auxiliaries to encourage and aſſiſt them. In hopes of procuring theſe auxiliaries, he ſet ſail for France in the end of October, promiſing to return by the firſt of Auguſt in the following year [171].

A.D. 1523. Hoſtilities.

Hoſtilities were recommenced on the borders in the ſpring, and continued through the ſummer of this year, by mutual depredations and incurſions, which did much miſchief to the wretched inhabitants of thoſe parts, but determined nothing. In one of theſe incurſions, Thomas earl of Surry, who commanded in the north, took and burnt the town of Jedburgh September 24th, and demoliſhed the magnificent monaſtery of that place [172].

Albany returns.

The duke of Albany having obtained ſome troops from the king of France, prepared to return with them into Scotland by the time appointed. But he was prevented by an Engliſh fleet fitted out to intercept him. On this occaſion the duke acted with great prudence, and deceived his enemies. He removed his troops from the ſea-coaſt, and directed his ſhips to ſeparate, and put into different ports, at no great diſtance from one another. The Engliſh admiral, ſir William Fitz-Williams, ſeeing no fleet in any of the French harbours, and no ap-

[171] Leſly, p. 406. Buchan. p. 263. [172] Ibid.

pearance

pearance of an embarkation, left his ſtation about the middle of Auguſt, and returned into port. The duke then collected his ſhips, and embarked his troops with great expedition at Breſt; ſailed from thence on the 21ſt, and arrived in the weſt of Scotland on the 24th of September, with a fleet of about fifty ſail, three thouſand infantry, and one thouſand men at arms [173]. A.D. 1523.

The regent having brought his fleet into the Clyde, and landed his troops, called a convention of the eſtates. In his abſence the Engliſh party had increaſed, and ſeveral of the lords and barons thinking it imprudent to wage perpetual war with a too powerful neighbour, at the inſtigation of a diſtant ally, wiſhed for a peace with England. But the duke, by his authority, his ſpeeches, promiſes, and other arts, prevailed upon the convention to reſolve to raiſe an army and continue the war. The army rendezvouſed in Douglaſdale, and paſſed the Tweed October 20th, by the bridge of Melroſs, with a deſign to penetrate into England by the middle-marches. But here again the regent met with an unexpected check; ſome of the moſt powerful chieftains poſitively declared againſt an offenſive war, and refuſed to enter England; which obliged him, with great reluctance, to repaſs the Tweed, and march down the north banks of that river to Coldſtream, nearly oppoſite to the caſtle of Werk. That caſtle, now entirely demoliſhed, was then in perfect repair, and very ſtrong, as we are told by George Buchannan, the famous poet and Expedition.

[173] Drummond, p. 180. Buchan. p. 263.

A. D. 1523. hiſtorian, who was preſent at the ſiege. The duke ſent four thouſand French and Scots, with a train of battering cannon, over the Tweed, to beſiege this caſtle, which conſiſted of a lofty tower or donjon, an inner incloſure, ſurrounded by a very thick wall and double ditch; and an outer incloſure much larger, ſurrounded alſo with a ſtrong wall and ditch. The beſiegers ſoon got poſſeſſion of the outer incloſure; and a practicable breach being made in the inner wall, they gave an aſſault, but were repulſed. Heavy rains falling at the ſame time, they raiſed the ſiege and returned with their artillery, for fear of being cut off from the main army by the ſwelling of the river. The duke, convinced that he could do nothing of importance with an army of which he had not the command, decamped November 29th, and marching to Lauder, diſmiſſed his troop. The earl of Surry, who had orders to remain on the defenſive, alſo diſbanded his army of forty thouſand, and hoſtilities ceaſed for ſome time[174]. Though Scotland reaped neither honour nor profit from this expedition, it was of great advantage to France, by detaining ſo many forces in England.

A. D 1524. Albany leaves Scotland. The duke of Albany perceiving that his own power and the power of the French party were declining, and the Engliſh party increaſing, propoſed to go to France, with a deſign, it is probable, to procure a greater reinforcement of troops, and promiſed to return before the firſt of September. He reſided ſome time with the king at Stirling, and gave him ſuch advice and inſtructions as a youth in his thirteenth year was capable of com-

[174] Buchan. p. 265.

prehending.

prehending. He directed the council, to whom he committed the management of affairs in his abſence, to keep the king at Stirling, and not to make any peace or truce with the Engliſh before his return. Attended by a ſplendid retinue of the nobility, he proceeded to the Clyde, where his fleet waited for him, and ſailed for France May 19th, from whence he never returned again to Scotland [175]. He was a prince of great abilities and great virtues; equally brave and prudent; a lover of order and juſtice; quick and deciſive in his reſolutions; and poſſeſſed great command of temper in the moſt trying ſituations. Having no children of his own, he was ſo far from entertaining any unfriendly deſigns againſt his royal pupil, (of which Henry VIII. pretended to ſuſpect him,) that he viewed him with the eyes of a parent, and watched over him with the moſt tender care. But being a native of France, where he had great connexions, poſſeſſions, and offices, his attachment to that country had too great an influence on his conduct in the government of Scotland, which rendered his adminiſtration difficult and unpleaſant to himſelf, and diſagreeable to a great party of the Scots, who wiſhed for a peace with England. A.D. 1524.

The duke of Albany, before his departure, carried on a kind of pacific correſpondence with cardinal Wolſey, to prevent any hoſtilities that might detain him, in which he ſucceeded. The cardinal encouraged the correſpondence with another view, in which he miſcarried. He endeavoured to per- Correſpondence.

[175] Buchan. p. 265. Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, p. 332-335.

ſuade

A. D. 1524. ſuade him to come into England, to hold a conference with him, in which, he ſaid, they would not only ſettle a peace between the two kingdoms, but the general peace of Chriſtendom. The cardinal's real deſign was, if the duke had come into England, to tempt him (with a promiſe of a large ſhare of the kingdom of France, which they deſigned to diſmember) to imitate the duke of Bourbon, who had revolted from his ſovereign. But Albany well knew the cardinal had no intention to make a general peace, and was too wiſe to truſt his perſon in England [176]. The queen at the ſame time correſponded with her brother in the ſame pacific ſtrain, which contributed alſo to prevent hoſtilities in the ſpring of this year.

Incurſions. As no truce ſubſiſted between the two nations, in the months of June and July hoſtilities were renewed by mutual incurſions, to the equal advantage, or rather diſadvantage, of both [177]. To preſerve the memory of theſe petty, but very deſtructive, wars, (which ſeem hardly worthy of a place in hiſtory,) may ſerve to impreſs our minds with a grateful ſenſe of our ſuperior ſecurity and happineſs in the preſent times.

Angus returns from France. The earl of Angus and his brother, weary of the inactive life of exiles, made their eſcape from France in July this year, came to the court of England, and were well received by the king and his favourite, cardinal Wolſey, who reſolved to employ them to ſupport and ſtrengthen the Eng-

176 Otterborne and Welhamſtede, f. 11. Append.

177 Hall, f. 529.

liſh

liſh party in Scotland, where the earl had great eſtates and many friends. But one difficulty occurred. They knew the animoſity of the queen againſt the earl her huſband, and were no ſtrangers to the violence of her temper, and the raſh courſes of which ſhe was capable, when provoked. They ſent the earl and his brother into the north, to the care, or rather cuſtody, of lord Dacres, with ſtrict injunctions not to ſuffer them to enter Scotland till further orders [178]. A.D. 1524.

In the mean time, the queen dowager was very active in ſtrengthening her party, in order to obtain the regency, by the excluſion of the duke of Albany; and ſhe was the more active to accompliſh her deſign, that ſhe heard her hated huſband was arrived in England, and expected in Scotland. Accompanied by the earls of Arran, Argyle, Lennox, and ſome other lords and gentlemen, the queen conducted the young king, her ſon, July 29th, from Stirling to Edinburgh, and there, with the conſent of the great men of her party, took upon her the adminiſtration. James Beaton, the chancellor and archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, a zealous friend to the duke of Albany and the French intereſt, oppoſed this irregular meaſure; inſiſting that nothing of that kind could be done till after the firſt of September, (when the regent had promiſed to return,) and by a regular parliament. For this oppoſition he was impriſoned, but ſoon after ſet at liberty [179], That no interruption might be given to theſe proceedings, ſo agreeable to the court of The queen aſſumes the regency.

[178] Otterborne. Append. [179] Leſly, p. 413, Buchan. p. 266.

England,

A. D. 1524. England, hoſtilities were ſuſpended in the months of Auguſt and September by two ſhort truces.

Angus returns to Scotland. As the earl of Arran had formerly been at the head of the French party, he was ſtill ſuſpected by Henry and his miniſter. They therefore ſent the earl of Angus into Scotland, with inſtructions to endeavour to regain the favour of the queen his ſpouſe, and to co-operate with the earl of Arran, if he continued ſteady in the Engliſh intereſt, but if he deviated from it, to oppoſe him; in which he was promiſed the moſt effectual ſupport. The earl and his brother arrived in their native country in October, after a tedious exile, and were joyfully received by the numerous friends of their family. Their arrival ſoon produced another revolution.

Parliament. The queen, to ſecure the power ſhe had obtained, called a parliament, to meet November 16th at Edinburgh. Though the earl of Angus was in the country, he did not take his ſeat in this meeting, which conſiſted chiefly of the queen's party. By their ſecond act, they deprived the duke of Albany of his two high offices, of regent of the kingdom and tutor to the king, becauſe he had not returned with ſuccours from France before the firſt of September, as he had promiſed; and ordered a reſpectful letter to be written to the king of France, containing their reaſons for this proceeding [180]. By the ſame act, they declared the king (then in the fourteenth year of his age) capable of governing his dominions, and appointed a council to adviſe and aſſiſt him in the adminiſtration. This ſecret or

[180] Epiſt. Regum Scotorum, tom. i. p. 351—356.

cabinet

cabinet council was compoſed of the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, the biſhop of Aberdeen, the earl of Arran and the earl of Argyle, who were to ſuperintend all negotiations with foreign princes and ſtates, the coining of money, and the adminiſtration of juſtice; but were to do nothing without the queen's conſent [181]. The guardianſhip of the king's perſon was committed to the queen-mother, who, with the advice of the privy council, was to make choice of wife and virtuous men to inſtruct him in learning and good manners [182]. On November 18th the parliament appointed Robert biſhop of Dunkeld, Gilbert earl of Caſſilis, and Alexander abbot of Cambuſkenneth, ambaſſadors to the court of England, to negotiate a peace or truce, and a marriage of their young king and the princeſs Mary, the only child of Henry VIII [183]. This parliament, having gratified the queen in all her wiſhes, was prorogued to February 25th, A. D. 1525. A. D. 1524.

The three ambaſſadors, in their way to London, made a truce, November 29th, for two months, with Thomas lord Dacres, warden general of the Engliſh marches [184]. On their arrival in London, and entering upon the negotiation of a marriage between their king and the princeſs of England, Henry VIII. propoſed the two following conditions: 1. That the Scots ſhould diſſolve their league with France, and make a ſimilar league with England. 2. That the king of Scots ſhould reſide A. D. 1525. Embaſſy to England.

[181] Regiſt. Parliam. vol. vi. Regiſter Office, Edinburgh.
[182] Ibid. [183] Rym. tom. xiv. p. 67. [184] Ibid. p. 28.

A. D. 1525. in the court of England till after the marriage was conſummated. But theſe were unexpected conditions, concerning which they had no inſtructions. The truce was therefore prolonged to the 28th of March, to give them an opportunity of conſulting their conſtituents; and the earl of Caſſilis returned to Scotland for that purpoſe [185].

Parliament. When the time to which the parliament had been prorogued approached, the political hemiſphere, which had been ſo ſerene and calm at the former meeting, began to be overcaſt, and threatened a ſtorm. Some diſcontents and jealouſies prevailed among the noblemen of the queen's party; and the earl of Angus, her hated huſband, came to Edinburgh, attended by a numerous train of his friends and followers. Alarmed at theſe appearances, ſhe publiſhed a proclamation, prohibiting the parliament to meet in the city, and appointing it to meet in the caſtle of Edinburgh, where the king reſided. The earl of Angus and ſeveral other noblemen ſtrongly and juſtly reprobated this meaſure, as inconſiſtent with the ſafety of the members and the freedom of debate; and to prevent its being put in execution, they blockaded the caſtle with two thouſand armed men, who ſuffered no proviſions to be introduced, except for the king's table. The earl of Arran, who commanded in the caſtle, threatened to fire upon the city, which threw the inhabitants into great conſternation. But when things were in this ſituation, ſome of the moſt reſpectable prelates interpoſed, and brought about

[185] Rym. tom. xiv. p. 30. Leſly, p. 414.

an

an accommodation. The king was conducted to Holyrood-houſe, and the parliament was opened, with the uſual parade, in the uſual place [186]. A.D. 1525.

Though hoſtilities were thus prevented, the animoſity of the parties was not extinguiſhed. The debates on chuſing the lords of the articles were violent, and many proteſts were taken on both ſides. One of the chief tranſactions of this ſeſſion was, the choice of new council, which conſiſted of the archbiſhops of St. Andrews and Glaſgow, the biſhops of Aberdeen and Dumblane, the earls of Angus, Arran, Argyle, and Lennox. But this council was to tranſact nothing of importance without the conſent of the queen. The late blockade of the caſtle was declared to have been for the good of the king and kingdom, for which no perſon ſhould ever be called in queſtion. The ſummons that had been iſſued againſt the earls of Angus and Lennox, for entering the city of Edinburgh in the night in arms, was recalled and annulled. The new council was authoriſed to name a committee to have the care of the king's perſon, with power to conduct him from one place to another, but not to carry him out of the kingdom, under the pain of high treaſon; the queen to be at the head of this committee, and to have free acceſs to her ſon at all times [187]. In a word, parties ſeem to have been nearly equal at this meeting; or if the earl of Angus had the advantage, he was unwilling to puſh it too far: for though the queen's power was diminiſhed, ſhe was ſtill treated with great reſpect.

[186] Leſly, p. 416. Regiſt. Parl. vol. vi. [187] Ibid.

A. D. 1525. The earl of Caſſilis was inſtructed to conſent to the diſſolution of the league with France, if Henry diſſolved his alliance with the emperor, to whom the princeſs Mary had been contracted about three years before, but not to conſent to the king's going out of his kingdom. Henry promiſed to treat with the emperor on the ſubject. But the news of the battle of Pavia, in which the French king was taken priſoner, had reached the court of England, and ſo entirely engaged the attention of Henry and his miniſter, that no farther progreſs was made with the Scots ambaſſadors, who, deſpairing of ſucceſs, returned home [188].

The queen's complaint. What efforts the earl of Angus made to gain the affections of his royal ſpouſe, we are not informed; but it is certain they were ineffectual. Her animoſity againſt him became daily more violent, and ſhe complained to a parliament that met at Edinburgh July 11th, A. D. 1525, that though ſhe had commenced a proceſs againſt her huſband the earl of Angus for a divorce, he ſtill continued to uplift her rents and diſpoſe of her eſtates, and craved redreſs. To this complaint the earl replied, that he was willing to give the queen his wife every manner of aſſurance of her perſonal ſafety, and every ſort of ſatisfaction, but could not relinquiſh the rights of a huſband, or conſent to her ſeparation from him [189]. It doth not appear that the queen obtained any redreſs; and it ſeems probable, that it was on this occaſion ſhe left her ſon at Edinburgh, and retired to Stirling in diſcontent.

[188] Leſly, p. 416. [189] Regiſter of Parl. vol. vi.

In

In the ſame parliament, July 17th, it was appointed that the lords of the ſecret council ſhould perform their duty in the following manner: That one of the prelates and one of the earls of that council, aſſiſted by three or four members of the ordinary council, ſhould attend the court, and adminiſter the government for three months, and then be ſucceeded by another prelate and another earl, with the like number of aſſiſtants for the next three months, and ſo in regular ſucceſſion. By the ſame act the archbiſhop of Glaſgow and the earl of Angus, and in company with them the biſhop of Orkney, the earl of Morton, the abbot of Holyrood-houſe, the abbot of Arbroath, and the lord Seaton, were appointed to remain with the king, and to adminiſter the government from July 17th to November 1ſt; and during that time they were to have the cuſtody of the king's moſt noble perſon [190]. By another act of the ſame parliament, July 31ſt, it was declared, that the tranſactions of the ſecret council, without the queen's concurrence, ſhould be valid; and that the power conferred on her by the former parliament ſhould be recalled, unleſs ſhe returned within twenty days, and uſed the counſel of the lords [191]. This is a ſufficient proof that the queen had retired from court ſome time before this; that her abſence retarded buſineſs, and was diſapproved by parliament. A.D. 1525.

When the earl of Angus and his co-adjutors were regularly inveſted with authority, and the cuſtody of the king's perſon, by parliament, they entered

[190] Regiſter of Parl. vol. vi. [191] Ibid.

A. D. 1525. upon the adminiſtration; and there can be no doubt that they employed their power for their own and their friends advancement. The other counſellors had retired, and the queen's conſent to their tranſactions was no longer neceſſary. The earl of Angus himſelf was made chancellor, and warden of the eaſt and middle marches; his uncle, Archibald Douglas of Kilſpendy was made treaſurer; his brother, ſir George, was made lord chamberlain; and his other brother, William, prior of Coldingham, it is ſaid, was made abbot of Holyrood-houſe [192]. They did not, however, neglect the intereſts of the public. A parliament was held in September, in which a commiſſion was given by the king and three eſtates to the earl of Angus, George abbot of Holyrood-houſe, and three others, to meet with the commiſſioners of the king of England, for confirming the peace between the two kingdoms. The commiſſioners of both nations met at Berwick 10th October, and concluded a truce for three years; and agreed to meet again at the ſame place 12th January, A. D. 1526, to exchange ratifications of the treaty [193].

The earl of Angus retains the adminiſtration.

The time now approached when the earl of Angus and his friends ſhould reſign their power to thoſe who had been appointed by parliament to ſucceed them: but they diſcovered no diſpoſition to

[192] This laſt, though affirmed by all our hiſtorians, could not be true; becauſe it appears from an authentic record, that George Creichton was abbot of Holyrood-houſe on the 28th September this year. Much leſs could this be the cauſe of the queen's retiring to Stirling. Rym. tom. xiv. p. 91.

[193] Rym. p. 113.

comply

comply with that appointment. They found themſelves in poſſeſſion of the perſon and authority of their king, and reſolved to retain them as long as poſſible. When this reſolution became apparent, it not only inflamed the reſentment of the queen and their other enemies, but it offended the other members of the ſecret council and their friends, who deſired and expected to enjoy the honours and emoluments of government in their turns. The archbiſhop of St. Andrews, the earls of Arran, Argyle, and other diſcontented nobles, held a meeting in the caſtle of Stirling, where the queen reſided, and from thence ſent a meſſage to the earl of Angus at Edinburgh, accuſing him of detaining the perſon of the king, and retaining the adminiſtration after his time was expired, and requiring him to reſign them to thoſe who had been appointed by parliament to ſucceed to that charge. To this meſſage the earl of Angus returned no anſwer: but he prevailed with the king to declare to the meſſenger, that the earl had treated him ſo well, that he choſe to remain with him; and charged him to communicate that reſolution to the queen his mother, and the nobles who had ſent him [194]. A. D. 1525.

The king wiſhes to be ſet at liberty.

Theſe were not the real ſentiments of the young monarch; for though the earl of Angus had indulged him in the gratification of all his youthful paſſions to gain his favour, he plainly perceived that he was a priſoner, and earneſtly deſired to be ſet at liberty; and he found means to communicate

[194] Leſly, p. 417.

A. D. 1525. this desire to the queen and the nobles at Stirling, and conjured them to attempt his deliverance [195].

A. D. 1526. Attempt to deliver the king.

As soon as the lords received this intimation of the king's desire, they raised their followers, and formed an army, with which they marched to Linlithgow. The earl of Angus, well informed of all their motions, had collected all his friends and followers, and, with the king in his company, marched from Edinburgh January 12th, to meet and give them battle. But when he approached Linlithgow, the leaders of the other army, either thinking themselves too weak, or unwilling to attack the king in person, and expose him to the danger of an action, retired to Stirling without fighting. They soon after dismissed their followers, and returned to their own estates [196].

Angus fixed.

This feeble unsuccessful attempt, fixed Angus more firmly in his seat. The queen was so much afraid of falling into his hands, that she fled into the north with the earl of Moray. The earls of Arran, Argyle, and the other discontented nobles, consulted their safety, by living in great privacy, and keeping at a distance from court [197]. The king of England took no umbrage at his proceedings, but rather countenanced them; and the ratifications of the treaty of three years truce were exchanged March 15th at Berwick [198].

Battle of Melrose.

Though the earl of Lennox remained at court at the earnest desire of the king, and seemed to be sincerely attached to the earl of Angus, he was se-

[195] Lesly, p. 417.
[196] Ibid. p. 418. Rym. p. 114.
[197] Lesly, p. 418.
[198] Rym. p. 128.

cretly

cretly offended at his retaining the government, A.D. 1526. and thereby preventing him from enjoying it in his turn. The king had made him his confident, and communicated to him his hatred of Angus and the Douglaſſes, and his ardent deſire to be delivered from them; and they formed a ſcheme for that purpoſe. The late truce had not put an end to the depredations on the borders, which were privately promoted by the laird of Buckleugh at the inſtigation of Lennox, in order to draw Angus with the king into thoſe parts, where Buckleugh was very powerful, and was to make an attempt to ſet the king at liberty. Angus, ignorant of this ſcheme, went, with the king in his company, and attended by a little army of his friends and followers, July 24th, to Jedburgh, where he was joined by the Humes and by the Kers of Ceſsford and Farmherſt. Here he remained ſome days, puniſhing ſome of the moſt guilty of the marauders, and taking ſecurities from others for their future good behaviour. As he was returning, July 29th, he diſcovered a great body of horſemen in order of battle, directly in his way to the bridge over the Tweed at Melroſs. This hoſtile appearance ſurpriſed the earl of Angus, but was expected by the king and Lennox, who ſecretly rejoiced at the ſight. A meſſenger was ſent to demand, in the king's name, who they were, and why they appeared there in that warlike poſture? Their leader anſwered, that he was the laird of Buckleugh, and that he came with a thouſand of his friends and followers to wait upon his ſovereign, and to ſhew him how many brave men

he

A. D. 1526. he had always ready to ſerve him. On receiving this anſwer a herald was ſent as from the king, to command him to depart, and diſmiſs his followers, under the pain of being treated as a traitor. Buckleugh replied, that he knew the king's mind, and would not retire. Angus having committed the care of the king's perſon to the earl of Lennox, lord Maxwell, his brother ſir George Douglas, &c. advanced to meet his enemies, whom he immediately engaged. The conflict was for ſome time fierce and doubtful. But the Humes and Kers, who had taken their leave of the king a little before, hearing the noiſe, returned full ſpeed and obtained the victory. The laird of Buckleugh was wounded, eighty of his men killed, and the reſt put to flight. Angus loſt almoſt an equal number of men; and the laird of Ceſsford, purſuing too eagerly, was ſlain by one of Buckleugh's men, which gave riſe to a long and deadly feud between the Kers and Scots[199]. After this action Angus marched back to Jedburgh, where he reſted ſome days, and then returned with the king to Edinburgh.

The queen divorced.

The queen and the archbiſhop of St. Andrews were equally incenſed againſt the earl of Angus: the former earneſtly deſired to have her marriage with him diſſolved, and the latter encouraged her to bring an action againſt him for that purpoſe in his court. This was accordingly done, and the queen applied to the prelate for a divorce from her huſband; becauſe, as ſhe alleged, he was married to a daughter of the earl of Traquair at the time of

[199] Leſly, p. 429.

his marriage with her. The earl, who had been prompted to his courtſhip of the queen rather by ambition than by love, made no oppoſition, and the archbiſhop pronounced the ſentence of divorce. As ſoon as this ſentence was confirmed by the pope, the queen married Henry Stewart, a brother of lord Avandale. Her brother Henry VIII. was ſo much offended with this divorce and marriage of his ſiſter; that he never after paid her much regard [200]. A. D. 1526.

John Stewart earl of Lennox was an accompliſhed nobleman, remarkably handſome in his perſon, of engaging manners, and much beloved by the young king, who delighted in his company, and made him his confident. This excited ſuſpicion and jealouſy in the mind of Angus, which he could not conceal. Lennox perceiving that he was ſuſpected, reſolved to retire from court, and attempt to deliver the king by force, which he had failed to accompliſh by art. To this he was urged by the king, who furniſhed him with letters to ſeveral noblemen who were diſaffected to the earl of Angus [201]. We know not the preciſe time when Lennox left the court; it was, we are told, not many months after the king's return from Jedburgh to Edinburgh in Auguſt 1526, and therefore moſt probable in the beginning of the year 1527. A.D. 1527. Lennox retires from court.

After the departure of Lennox, Angus ſuſpected, or was informed, that he intended to reſcue the king out of his hands, and endeavoured to ſtrengthen his Angus and Arran unite.

[200] Leſly, p. 419. [201] Ibid. p. 421.

party,

A. D. 1527. party, that he might be able to repel the dreaded ſtorm. With this view he applied to the earl of Arran, who he knew had a miſunderſtanding with Lennox, though he was his neareſt relation. Arran had been married firſt to a ſiſter of lord Hume, by whom he had no children, and from whom he was divorced on a very frivolous pretence. He was then married to a niece of James Beaton, archbiſhop of St. Andrews, by whom he had children. Lennox, who was his ſiſter's ſon, he was told, intended to call in queſtion, at a proper ſeaſon, the legality of his divorce from his firſt wife, and the legitimacy of his children by his ſecond wife, in which, if he ſucceeded, he would become heir to the honours and eſtates of his family, and to his chance of ſucceeding to the crown. This had occaſioned an eſtrangement between Arran and his nephew, which made him the more readily liſten to the propoſals of Angus, who engaged to admit him to a participation in the government; and the two powerful chieftains agreed to ſupport one another with all their forces [202].

Battle of Linlithgow bridge.

Soon after the departure of Lennox from court, an aſſembly of the diſcontented nobles was held at Stirling, in which it was reſolved to reſcue the king, and wreſt the government out of the hands of Angus by force of arms. They then ſeparated, to prepare for executing this reſolution, and agreed to rendezvous at the ſame place in Auguſt. Lennox having raiſed his own friends and vaſſals, and being joined by a thouſand highlanders, and two

[202] Godſcroft, p. 254.

thouſand

thouſand men under the earl of Caſſilis and the lord Kilmares, marched to Stirling, where he met with ſo many forces from Fife, Perthſhire, and other parts, as made an army of ten thouſand men, with which he determined to attack the earl of Arran, who had taken poſt at Linlithgow before he could be joined by the earl of Angus, who was ſtill at Edinburgh. Arran, however, either ſuſpecting, or having received intelligence of this deſign, ſent an expreſs to Angus to join him immediately. Lennox marched from Stirling early in the morning September 3d; but when he approached Linlithgow, he found that the enemy had taken poſſeſſion of the bridge over the Avon, about a mile to the weſt of that town, which obliged him to make a circuit, and paſs the river at Emanuel Nunnery, about a mile above the bridge. The eaſtern banks of the Avon at this place are very ſteep, and the troops, fatigued with their long march, were put out of breath by climbing them, when they were attacked by the enemy advantageouſly poſted on the riſing grounds: they fought, however, with great bravery for ſome time, when a cry aroſe that the Douglaſſes were in ſight, with which many were intimidated and began to fly. Angus had marched from Edinburgh the ſame morning, but was retarded by the king, who pretended ſickneſs, and made various delays; but on hearing the report of cannons, he puſhed forward with the van of his army at full ſpeed, leaving the king to the cuſtody of his brother ſir George Douglas. When he reached the field of battle, he ſaw the enemy flying, A. D. 1527.

A.D. 1525. flying, and found the earl of Arran weeping over the body of his nephew the earl of Lennox, who had been taken priſoner and butchered in cold blood by the baſtard of Hamilton. Angus was ſo much affected at the ſight, that he could not refrain from tears; but when the king heard of the fate of his favourite, he was ſtill more deeply affected, and mourned for him long and bitterly [203].

Queen and archbiſhop fly. The two victorious earls, having reſted and refreſhed their forces a few days at Linlithgow, marched to Stirling, and from thence to Fife; compelling all the barons and gentlemen who had been in the late inſurrection, to compound for their delinquency by their lands or money, or to join their party to ſave their lives. The queen and the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, who were moſt obnoxious, fled in diſguiſe, and concealed themſelves ſo effectually, that they could not be diſcovered: the archbiſhop, in the garb of a ſhepherd, tended a flock of ſheep ſeveral months on Bogrionneumuir [204].

Anarchy. Scotland was at this time a ſcene of the moſt deplorable anarchy and confuſion. The magiſtrates in many places had no authority, and where they had any, they employed it as an inſtrument of wreaking their vengeance on thoſe of the oppoſite party. The earl of Caſſilis, a nobleman of great honour and bravery, after his eſcape from the battle of Linlithgow, was ſurpriſed and ſlain by the ſheriff of Ayrſhire, at the inſtigation of the baſtard Hamilton, becauſe he refuſed to become a partiſan of

[203] Leſly, p. 422. Drummond, p. 290. [204] Pitſcottie, p. 139.

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the Hamiltons. Deadly feuds between the Leſleys and Forbeſes in the north, and among the Mackintoſhes in the Highlands, were proſecuted with the moſt barbarous and deſtructive cruelty [205]. The earl of Moray having received a commiſſion from the king, raiſed an army, defeated the Mackintoſhes, and took many of them priſoners, of whom he hanged no fewer than two hundred, who diſcovered a degree of fidelity to their leader, which would have done great honour to better men in a better cauſe. Each of them was offered his life and liberty, if he would diſcover the lurking-place of his chieftain Hector Mackintoſh; but they all rejected the offer, and choſe rather to die than to betray the chief [206]. The earl of Angus, after his return from Fife, marched with the king and an army of ſix thouſand men into Liddeſdale, (where the greateſt diſorders prevailed,) obliged the borderers to make their ſubmiſſions, hanged twelve of the moſt guilty, and took hoſtages for the good behaviour of the reſt [207]. A. D. 1527.

The archbiſhop of St. Andrews, weary of leading the life of a lurking fugitive, and ſeeing no immediate proſpect of a revolution in his favour, found means to convey to ſir George Douglas propoſals for an accommodation with his brother the earl of Angus, accompanied with a promiſe to himſelf of certain advantageous leaſes of lands and tithes. The propoſal was joyfully received, and the accommodation was ſoon concluded. The archbiſhop returned to his caſtle of St. Andrews, and to the A.D. 1528. Tranquillity reſtored.

[205] Leſly, p. 423. [206] Ibid. p. 424. [207] Ibid. p. 426.

poſſeſſion

A.D. 1528. poſſeſſion of all his benefices; the public tranquillity ſeemed to be completely reſtored, and the authority of the Douglaſſes firmly eſtabliſhed[208]: for the reconciliation and ſubmiſſion of the archbiſhop were ſoon followed by that of the queen, her huſband Henry Stewart, and his brother James lord Avondale, who ſurrendered the caſtle of Edinburgh, March 14th, (which they had taken by ſurpriſe,) and were pardoned at the interceſſion of the queen[209]. After the ſurrender of the caſtle of Edinburgh, the court removed to Falkland, where the king, indulging in the gratification of all his youthful paſſions, appeared to be perfectly pleaſed with his ſituation.

The king's eſcape from Falkland.

Theſe fair appearances of tranquillity and ſubmiſſion ſeem to have put the Douglaſſes off their guard. The earl of Angus having ſtayed about a month at Falkland, returned to the ſouth (where he had great eſtates) to attend to his private affairs. The archbiſhop of St. Andrews invited ſir George Douglaſs to paſs ſome days with him in that city at Eaſter, and to receive the promiſed leaſes. Archibald Douglas, lord treaſurer, went at the ſame time to Dundee on buſineſs, or, as ſome ſay, to viſit a lady, leaving the king to the care of the captain of the guard of a hundred men, which conſtantly attended him, and a few inferior officers of the court. The king, encouraged by the abſence of his three moſt watchful keepers, reſolved to attempt an eſcape. He directed the laird of Fairnee, the chamberlain of Fife, and Foreſter of Falkland, to

[208] Leſly, p. 427. [209] Ibid.

ſend

ſend meſſages to all the neighbouring gentlemen to attend the king next morning at a royal hunt. He ſupped ſooner than uſual; and during ſupper he entertained the captain of the guard with diſcourſe about the next day's diverſion, recommending to him to ſee all the houſehold early to reſt, and to awake him next morning at four o'clock; he then retired to his bed-chamber, and went to bed: but as ſoon as all was quiet he aroſe, and putting on the livery of a yeoman of the ſtable, ſilently ſlipt out of the palace, and paſſed the guard undiſcovered: when he came to the ſtable he found a groom and page (who were in the ſecret) waiting with horſes ready ſaddled: they mounted, rode full ſpeed to Stirling, and were received into the caſtle which belonged to the queen, and had been neglected by the Douglaſſes [21]. The news of the king's eſcape flew like lightning; the barons and gentlemen of the neighbourhood made haſte to attend him with their followers; expreſſes were ſent to thoſe at a diſtance, and he ſoon found himſelf ſurrounded by ſuch a body of men as put him out of danger. A. D. 1528.

Attempt to ſtrike the king.

In the mean time all was diſmay and confuſion at Falkland. When the captain of the guard entered the king's chamber in the morning to awake him, and perceived it empty, he was alarmed. Search and inquiry were made every where, but the king could not be found, nor any intelligence procured: ſome ſurmiſed that he was gone to Bambrigh to viſit a certain lady; but the earl of Rothes arriving from thence to attend the hunt, aſſured

[21] Drummond, p. 293. Pitſcottie, p. 140, 141.

A.D.1528. them that he was not there. Expreſſes were diſpatched to the lord treaſurer at Dundee, to the chamberlain at St. Andrews, and to the earl of Angus in Lothian, to acquaint them with what had happened. The two former reached Falkland the ſame forenoon, and the earl the next morning, when it was known that the king had eſcaped to Stirling. A council was held, in which it was reſolved to raiſe an army, and attempt to recover by force the prize they had loſt. But on this occaſion the Douglaſſes found what almoſt all fallen miniſters have found, that they had fewer real friends and more ſecret enemies than they imagined. Having at length collected a body of their friends and followers at Edinburgh, they marched towards Stirling, but were met by a herald, who commanded them, in the king's name, not to come within ten miles of the court, under the pain of being proclaimed traitors. Some of the leaders were for puſhing forward and riſking a battle; but this appeared to the earl of Angus and others too dangerous: they therefore changed their reſolution, and poſted themſelves at Linlithgow in the way between Stirling and Edinburgh [211].

Council. The king held a council July 2d, at which the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, ſeven earls, nine lords, and many gentlemen, were preſent, to whom he complained of the ignominious reſtraint in which he had been held by the earl of Angus and his friends for almoſt three years, and diſcovered that his reſentment againſt them was very ſtrong. By

[211] Leſly, p. 428.

the

the advice of this council a proclamation was iſſued, and ſent by a herald to Linlithgow, commanding the earl of Angus to confine himſelf to the north of the river Spey, his brother ſir George and his uncle Archibald to enter themſelves priſoners in the caſtle of Edinburgh, and the reſt of their army to diſperſe. But with this command they did not comply [212]. A.D. 1528.

The king being now in the eighteenth year of his age, and at full liberty, ſummoned a parliament to meet at Edinburgh September 6th, to call thoſe to account who had detained his perſon, uſurped his authority, and were ſtill in arms againſt him. Soon after, the earl of Angus marched back from Linlithgow to Edinburgh, of which he hoped to get poſſeſſion, and to prevent the meeting of a parliament, from which he had every thing to fear. But he was prevented by the lord Maxwell and the laird of Cochinvare; and the king arriving at the head of two thouſand men, he retired Auguſt 25th to his caſtle of Tantallon [213]. Angus repulſed.

The parliament met at the appointed time, at which the earl of Angus, his brother and uncle though they had been ſummoned, did not appear; but John Bannantine, who was a member, and one of their retainers, had the courage to proteſt, that nothing done againſt them in that parliament ſhould be of any avail, becauſe they could not attend it without being guilty of treaſon, as the proclamation commanding them not to come within ten miles of Angus, &c. forfeited.

[212] Leſly, p. 418. Buchan. lib. xiv. p. 270. Pitſcottie, p. 142.
[213] Idem, ibid.

A.D. 1528. the court under the pain of treaſon had not been recalled. This proteſt was diſregarded. The king declared with a ſolemn oath, that while he was detained by the Douglaſſes, he was daily in fear of death. This declaration made a deep impreſſion on the minds of the members. The earl of Angus, his brother ſir George Douglas, his uncle Archibald Douglas, with their moſt intimate friend Alexander Drummond of Carnock, were condemned as traitors, and their eſtates forfeited [214].

Treaties. The Douglaſſes were not diſpirited by this ſevere ſentence, but revenged themſelves on the moſt active of their enemies by plundering their eſtates. They relied much on the powerful interceſſion of Henry VIII. for procuring their pardon; and if that proved unſucceſsful, they were certain of an aſylum in England. It appears from the narrative in a treaty concluded at Berwick December 12th A. D. 1522, between the commiſſioners of England and Scotland, "That the king of England "had diverſe and ſyndry tymes addreſſed his maiſt "honourable letters to the right hie and excellent "his derreſt Nevo the king of Scottis, in the fa-"vour of the erle of Anguſe, George Douglas his "brother, and Archibald Douglas his uncle, being "forfallit in Scotland upon leſe majeſtie, to be re-"conſilet to the favour, mercy, and grace, of the "ſaid king of Scottis [215]." In an article of the ſame treaty it is ſtipulated, that if the king of England at any time received the earl of Angus, his

[214] Leſly. p. 428. Buchan. lib. xiv. p. 720. Pitſcottie, p. 142.
[215] Rym. Fœd. tom. xiv. p. 277.

brother,

brother, his uncle, and their friends, into his dominions, it ſhould be no breach of the peace, provided the earl ſurrendered his caſtle of Tantallon, and that he or his followers made no incurſions into Scotland. The ſame commiſſioners, at the ſame place, December 14th, concluded a truce for five years between the two kingdoms; the articles of which were nearly the ſame with thoſe of former truces [215]. A.D. 1528.

Tantallon ſurrendered.

The reſentment of king James againſt the Douglaſſes was ſtill too ſtrong to liſten to any application in their favour: he was ſo far from this, that he marched from Edinburgh December 10th at the head of an army, and beſieged their caſtle of Tantallon; but after lying about a month before it, and having loſt many men and horſes, he turned the ſiege into a blockade, and had recourſe to negotiation. The governor, Simon Panango, a ſoldier of fortune, ſeeing no proſpect of relief, ſurrendered the caſtle on honourable terms [217].

The Douglaſſes retire into England.

The Douglaſſes having loſt their ſtrongeſt fortreſs, perceived they could not long maintain their ground in Scotland; and being invited by Henry VIII. they retired into England with their principal followers, who choſe to ſhare their fortunes, or diſpaired of pardon. They were there moſt kindly received, and honourably entertained for many years; only Alexander Drummond of Carnock obtained a pardon and returned home [218].

[215] 6 Rym. Fœd. tom. xiv. p. 278—282.
[217] Godſcroft. p. 259, &c. [218] Ibid.

A. D. 1528. The retreat of the Douglaſſes reſtored the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, which had been diſturbed by their ambition. But great diſorders ſtill prevailed on the borders, which were encouraged by the chieftains in thoſe parts, who paid little regard to the late truce. To give a check to theſe diſorders, James called a convention of his nobility in May this year at Edinburgh, in which he preſided in perſon, though he was only entered into his nineteenth year. William Cockburn of Henderland, and Adam Scot of Tuſhelaw, commonly called the King of Thieves, two moſt notorious offenders, who had been guilty of many atrocious crimes, were condemned to death; the earl of Bothwell was baniſhed; the lords Maxwell and Hume, with the lairds of Buckleugh, Ceſsford, Farneherſt, Polwart, Johnſtone, and ſeveral others, were committed to priſon by this convention [219]. Thus James gave an early ſpecimen of his ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice, and ſpirited exertions for ſuppreſſing theft and robbery, for which he was afterwards ſo famous.

James, not contented with what he had done at the convention, engaged his nobles to attend him with their followers at a royal hunt; and he ſet out from Edinburgh June 2d, attended, it is ſaid, by twelve thouſand men. To conceal his real deſign, he hunted ſome days in the foreſt by the way, and then fell ſuddenly into Ewſdale and Eſkdale, and ſeized many of the marauders of thoſe parts by ſurpriſe, of whom he hanged no fewer than forty-eight.

[219] Leſly, p. 430.

Among

Among theſe was the famous John Armſtrong of Kilknocky, the boldeſt, moſt patriotic, and ſucceſsful free-booter of thoſe times. He was conſtantly attended by a troop of twenty or thirty ſtout men, well mounted and armed; he never robbed a Scotchman, but made moſt deſtructive incurſions into England, and laid the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland under contribution. This audacious plunderer, proud of the injuries he had done to the Engliſh, and probably expecting to be rewarded for them, had the effrontery to appear before his ſovereign with his myrmidons in rich and ſplendid dreſſes; but they ſoon found their error: they were ſeized, found guilty, and executed, though Kilknocky, who was very rich, made mighty offers to obtain a pardon. This ſpirited conduct of the young king had a very happy effect, and ſtruck terror into the boldeſt offenders. He returned to Edinburgh July 28th, and ſet the impriſoned chieftains at liberty, when they had given hoſtages for their good behaviour [220]. A. D. 1528.

Three years of peace.

Thoſe periods of time are the moſt happy which afford the feweſt materials for hiſtory, when a kingdom enjoys internal tranquillity and external peace, and the perſons and properties of the people are ſecured by the ſteady impartial adminiſtration of juſtice. Such was the ſtate of Scotland in the years 1530, 1531, and 1532, which reflects great honour on the memory of its youthful monarch.

[220] Leſly, p. 433. Buchan. p. 272.

A. D. 1533. A truce.

Several applications had been made to James by his uncle Henry VIII. for the reſtoration of the Douglaſſes without effect. Theſe exiles, irritated at this inflexibility, excited ſome diſturbances on the borders. But as both courts ſincerely deſired peace, a ſtop was ſoon put to theſe diſturbances by a meeting of commiſſioners at Newcaſtle October 1ſt, who concluded a truce for one year [221].

A. D. 1534. Treaty of peace.

Still further to confirm and prolong that peace between the two kingdoms, which was ſo beneficial to both, the two Britiſh monarchs appointed plenipotentiaries to meet and negotiate a perpetual or temporary peace. The commiſſioners for Scotland were, William Stewart biſhop of Aberdeen, and Sir Adam Otterburn: thoſe for England, ſir Thomas Audley, chancellor; Thomas Cromwell, ſecretary; Edward Fox, almoner; John Trigonwell; and Richard Gwent. They met at London, and on May 11th, concluded and ſigned a treaty of peace, to continue during the lives of the two kings, and a year after the death of him who died firſt. The day after, the ſame plenipotentiaries ſigned another treaty, containing only two articles: by the firſt the king of England engaged to ſurrender to the king of Scots, the fortreſs of Edrington near Berwick, with all its lands; by the ſecond article it was agreed, that the king of England might entertain in his dominions Archibald late earl of Angus, George his brother, and Archibald his uncle; provided they made no hoſtile incurſions into Scotland [222].

[221] Rym. p. 480. [222] Ibid. p. 529—539.

King

King James being now in the twenty-fourth year of his age, began to entertain ſerious thoughts of marriage, to which he had many inducements. He was the only ſurviving male of his family, and was far from being fond of the Hamiltons, who were next in the line of ſucceſſion to the crown, and imprudently diſcovered very ſanguine hopes, which gave him great offence. Theſe hopes did not ſeem to be ill-founded. The king was much addicted to vague amours, and raſhly expoſed himſelf to danger in the proſecution of them, as well as in purſuing thoſe deſperate banditti, with which his kingdom was infeſted. He was alſo moſt earneſtly importuned to marry by the queen his mother, and by his nobility. Impelled by ſuch powerful motives, he began to look around him for a proper match. His reputation for courage and activity was now very high, his friendſhip was courted by the greateſt princes, and he was in no danger of having his addreſſes rejected. Godeſcalco Erico, ambaſſador from the emperor Charles V. arrived in the court of Scotland in April this year, with the enſigns of the order of the Golden Fleece, and an offer to James of his choice of three princeſſes of the Imperial family, viz. Mary queen dowager of Hungary, the emperor's ſiſter; Mary of Portugal, daughter of his ſiſter Eleanora; and Mary of England. By theſe advances James very juſtly ſuſpected that the emperor deſigned to draw him into his party againſt his ancient ally the king of France, and his uncle the king of England. He returned a polite anſwer, full of reſpect and gratitude

A. D. 1534. James reſolves to marry.

A.D. 1534. tude to the emperor, but declined to accept any of the matches propoſed. To render this refuſal leſs offenſive, he expreſſed a deſire to eſpouſe the princeſs Iſabella of Denmark, the daughter of another of the emperor's ſiſters. But that princeſs was already contracted to the elector palatine, of which it is probable James was not ignorant [223].

Embaſſy to France.

King James appears to have had an early and ſteady attachment to the French, and to their king Francis; with which, it it probable, his tutor, the duke of Albany had inſpired him in his youth. When that duke renewed the ancient league between France and Scotland, A. D. 1517, he negotiated a contract of marriage between his pupil the king of Scots, then in his ſixth year, and the eldeſt daughter of Francis, then an infant. That princeſs was dead; but James ſtill retained an inclination to a match in the royal family of France. With that view he ſent David Beaton, abbot of Arbroath, and the lord Erſkine, to the court of France, to demand the princeſs Magdalene, the King's eldeſt daughter, for their ſovereign. The ambaſſadors were well received, and no objections were made to the marriage, but that the princeſs was of a delicate frame, not likely to live long, or to have any children. Francis at the ſame time recommended Mary of Bourbon, daughter of Charles duke of Vendoſme, as a proper conſort for their king; and ſtill further to teſtify his regard, he ſent him the enſigns of the order of St. Michael [224].

[223] Buchan. p. 274. [224] Leſly, p. 440.

Henry

Henry VIII. was at no leſs pains to conciliate the affections and ſecure the friendſhip of his nephew the king of Scots, than the emperor, or the king of France. In the beginning of this year he ſent him, by William Barlow, biſhop of St. Aſaph, a long letter, explaining the reaſons of his conduct in procuring a divorce from queen Catherine, and marrying Anne Boleyn; in withdrawing from the obedience of the pope, and in the other meaſures he was then purſuing. Not contented with this, he ſoon after ſent lord William Howard, attended by a ſplendid retinue, into Scotland, with the enſigns of the order of the garter to the king. Lord William, accompanied by biſhop Barlow, reſided ſome time in Scotland, and had frequent conferences with the king; in which they endeavoured to convince him of the wiſdom and rectitude of his uncle's proceeding, and to perſuade him to imitate his example, by withdrawing from the obedience of the pope, and enriching the crown by ſeizing ſome of the ſuperfluous wealth of the clergy, particularly of the monks. But the principal object of the ambaſſadors was, to prevail upon him to agree to an interview with his uncle at York. In order to this, they made him the moſt tempting offers; that Henry would create him duke of York and lieutenant of the kingdom, and declare him next in the line of ſucceſſion to the crown after his own legitimate children, of which he had then only one daughter, an infant. The clergy of Scotland were greatly alarmed at the thoughts of this interview, and endeavoured to prevent it, by repreſenting the extreme

A. D. 1534. Embaſſy from England.

A. D. 1534. extreme danger of truſting his perſon to a prince who had claimed the ſuperiority of his dominions, and ſtill ſupported the Douglaſſes, who had uſurped his authority, and deprived him of his liberty. To give weight to their arguments, they offered him a conſiderable ſum of money as a free gift, and alſo an annual addition to his revenue. Theſe arguments and offers prevailed, and determined James to decline the interview, but in the leaſt offenſive manner, and on ſome fair pretence. The council of Scotland, therefore objected to York as too diſtant, and propoſed Newcaſtle, as a more proper place for the interview: and if this propoſal had been fairly laid before Henry, it is probable he would have given his conſent. But lord William Howard, who was young, proud, and paſſionate, being provoked that his offers had not been readily accepted, returned to London, and made a very unfavourable report to Henry of the diſpoſitions of James and his miniſters, which had a very unhappy effect, and produced a coolneſs between theſe two princes which was never removed [225].

Embaſſy from Rome.

The pope reſolved to launch the thunders of the church againſt Henry VIII. and was anxious to ſecure the attachment of his neareſt neighbour and relation, the king of Scots, to the holy ſee. With this view, he ſent a legate into Scotland, with a letter and a conſecrated cap and ſword to the king, which were received with great reſpect and ceremony. The letter contained a moſt violent declamation againſt Henry, and an earneſt exhortation

[225] Herbert, p. 134. Buchan. p. 275.

to

to James, to employ all his power to extirpate ſo great a monſter of iniquity from the earth. To this flaming epiſtle James returned a civil anſwer, aſſuring his holineſs of his ſteady attchment to the church, and his reſolution to ſuppreſs hereſy in his own dominions [226]. A.D. 1534.

By the firſt act of a parliament that met at Edinburgh June 7th this year, 1535, holy church was ſecured in all her privileges, liberties, and immunities. By the ſecond act of this parliament, thoſe who lay under the ſentence of excommunication above forty days are ſubjected to very ſevere penalties; "becauſe the damnable perſuaſions and "perverſe doctrines of heretics gave occaſion to "many to deſpiſe that ſentence, and other cen"ſures of holy church [227]." Many excellent ſtatutes were made in this parliament for eſtabliſhing a ſtrict police and regular adminiſtration of juſtice, which king James had very much at heart. A.D. 1535. Parliament.

Few princes have poſſeſſed more activity than James V. He ſometimes ſpent whole days, and part of the night, on horſeback, in his expeditions againſt the banditti of the borders and of the north. Having reduced thoſe parts of his kingdom to tolerable order, he now reſolved to viſit the numerous iſlands with which it was ſurrounded, whoſe inhabitants paid little regard to government. He ſailed from the Forth in July with five ſtout ſhips well manned, accompanied by the earls of Arran, Argyle, Huntley, and ſeveral other lords and gentlemen, and firſt viſited Orkney, where he held James viſits the Iſles.

[226] Leſly, p. 441. [227] Black Acts, James V. f. 68.

courts,

A.D.1535. courts, and puniſhed ſuch as were found guilty of robbery, oppreſſion, and other crimes. He then ſailed to the Hebrides, or Weſtern Iſles; and as his arrival was unexpected, the proprietors and chieftains of thoſe iſles had no opportunity of eſcaping; he ſeized ſuch of them as were accuſed of plundering their neighbours, or of making depredations on the continent, and impriſoned them in the caſtle of Dunbarton. In the whole of this voyage, he gave directions to make ſoundings, to examine the harbours, to meaſure the diſtances of one iſland from another, and from the continent; by which he gained a more perfect knowledge of theſe remote parts of his dominions than any of his predeceſſors. The obſervations that were made in this voyage were afterwards publiſhed for the benefit of navigators. He landed at St. Ninians in Galloway, and proceeded to Edinburgh, where he arrived towards the end of the year [228].

A. D. 1536. Chieftains confined. As king James now meditated a more diſtant voyage he thought it prudent to order ſome of the moſt potent chieftains on the borders into confinement, to prevent diſturdance in his abſence. The laird of Buckleugh was confined in the caſtle of Edinburgh, lord Hume in the caſtle of Down, the laird of Farneherſt in Falkland, and the laird of Johnſtone in Dundee. This appears to us an arbitrary, but it was then a neceſſary, meaſure, for preſerving peace with England, and preventing internal commotions. "Thereafter," ſays Pitſcottie, "there was great peace and reſt a long time, and

[228] Drum. p. 303. Pitſcottie, p. 152. Buchan. p. 275.

"the

"the king had great profit; for he had ten thou- A. D. 1536.
"sand ſheep going in Eatrick foreſt, in keeping
"by Andrew Bell, who made the king as good
"account of them as if they had gone in the
"bounds of Fife [229]."

King James next called a convention of his nobility, and communicated to them his intention of going to France to finiſh the negotiations of his marriage, which had been too long protracted, exhorted them to preſerve peace and good order, and to be obedient to the regents he had appointed. A fleet of five ſhips being ready, he ſailed from Leith July 24th, but was driven back into the Forth by a ſtorm. Having repaired the damages the fleet had ſuſtained, he ſailed again from Kirkaldy Auguſt 31ſt, attended by a ſplendid train of his nobility, and in ten days landed at Dieppe in Normandy. From thence he proceeded with his ſuite to Rouen, where he was joined by the earls of Moray, Lennox, and Caſſilis, the lord Erſkine and the abbot of Arbroath from Paris. Reſolved to ſee his intended bride, he went to Vendoſme *incognito*; and not being ſo much charmed with her appearance as he expected, he returned to Rouen without being diſcovered, or at leaſt without making any advances to the lady [230].

A deciſive battle, it was then expected, would ſoon take place in Provence between the Imperial and French armies commanded by the emperor and the king of France. James, prompted by his natural intrepidity, and ardently deſirous of fighting King James married.

[229] Pitſcottie, p. 153. [230] Leſly, p. 442.

by

A. D. 1536. by the ſide of the ancient ally of his family and country, ſet out immediately to join the French army; but before he reached the ſcene of action, the emperor had retired without fighting, and the king of France was on his return to his capital. As ſoon as Francis heard of the approach of the king of Scots, he diſpatched the dauphin to meet and conduct him. When the two kings met, they embraced in the moſt affectionate manner, and proceeded together to Paris, where James was royally lodged and entertained. For ſome time there was nothing but a ſucceſſion of feaſts, and tilts and tournaments, at which martial exerciſes the young king acquired great honour, by his courage, ſtrength, and dexterity. Having frequently ſeen and converſed with the princeſs Magdalene, he was charmed with her delicate beauties and gentle diſpoſition; and the princeſs was no leſs charmed by the perſonal accompliſhments, and gallantry of her royal lover; and Francis, convinced of their mutual affection, no longer oppoſed their union. All preliminaries being ſettled, their marriage was ſolemnized with great pomp January 1ſt, A. D. 1537 [231].

A.D. 1537. Arrival of the king and queen.

James received with his royal bride a fortune of 100,000 crowns of the ſun, with an annuity of 30,000 franks; and he ſettled upon her as great a jointure as any queen of Scotland had ever enjoyed. Francis detained his daughter and ſon-in-law at his court ſeveral months after their marriage. At length James becoming impatient to return to

[231] Leſly, p. 442, 443.

his

his own dominions, Francis made him a gift of two ſhips laden with cannon and military ſtores, and loaded him and his queen with preſents of plate and jewels. The king, with his queen and court, arrived at Rouen in the beginning of April, and there (April 3d) executed a deed of great importance; *viz.* a revocation of all grants that had been made from the crown, of lands, rents, offices, wardſhips, &c. during his minority[232]. This was not intended to be executed, but to be kept as a rod over the heads of thoſe who had received theſe grants, to ſecure their good behaviour, that they might not be actually reſumed. The king, queen, and all their ſuite, attended by the high admiral of France, and a ſplendid train of lords and ladies, ſailed from Newport in the end of April, and landed at Leith May 17th. They were there received with the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of reſpect and joy by a prodigious confluence of ladies, lords, and gentlemen, who had come from all parts of the kingdom to congratulate the king and queen on their arrival. The queen, by her gentleneſs and affability, gained the hearts of all who approached her; and this marriage gave univerſal ſatisfaction[233]. A. D. 1537.

This joy was ſoon ſucceeded by a ſorrow no leſs univerſal. The young queen was ſeized with a fever in the end of June, and died at Holyrood-houſe about the middle of July, to the unſpeakable grief of her royal conſort, and the great concern of her ſubjects[234]. The queen's death.

[232] Black Acts, James V. f. 76. [233] Leſly, p. 445, &c.
[234] Leſly, p. 44, &c.

A.D. 1537. Executions.

James was at all times a ſevere juſticiary; but about this time his ſeverity degenerated into cruelty, and two executions took place that fixed an indelible ſtain upon his memory. John, eldeſt ſon of lord Forbes, was a diſſolute youth, ſurrounded by diſſolute companions, among whom was one Strahan, a fellow of low birth and profligate manners. This fellow being refuſed a favour by Forbes, went to the earl of Huntley, (between whoſe family and that of the Forbeſes a feud had long ſubſiſted,) and informed him, that Forbes had been engaged in a plot to kill the king ſeveral years before. Forbes was apprehended, condemned, and executed, on the ſole evidence of this worthleſs informer. He was generally believed to have been innocent of the crime for which he ſuffered, but his notorious profligacy made him be little regretted. The other execution was far more pitious and deplorable. Lady Jean Douglas, ſiſter to the baniſhed earl of Angus, was a lady of great beauty and virtue. She was firſt married to the lord Glamis, and after his death to Archibald Campbell of Keepneth. In her widowhood ſhe had been courted by John Lyon, a near relation of her firſt huſband, who was ſo much enraged at her rejecting him, that he accuſed her and her huſband, and her ſon lord Glamis, who was a mere boy, and an old prieſt, of a plot to poiſon the king. Nothing could be more improbable than this accuſation. They lived privately at a great diſtance from the court, with which they had no communication. They were all, however, ſeized, and committed to priſon in the

the caſtle of Edinburgh. The lady was brought to her trial, and though ſhe defended herſelf with great preſence of mind and the moſt pathetic eloquence, ſhe was found guilty by a majority of the jury, and condemned to the flames. This cruel ſentence was executed on the caſtle-hill of Edinburgh, in the preſence of a prodigious crowd of ſpectators. Her youth, her beauty, and her noble birth, but above all, the calm intrepidity with which ſhe ſubmitted to her cruel fate, made a deep impreſſion on all who beheld the affecting ſcene, and they went away convinced that this unfortunate lady had fallen a ſacrifice to the king's implacable hatred to her family. How much ſhould princes guard againſt implacability? Her huſband was killed in attempting to eſcape from the caſtle. Her ſon lord Glamis was detained in priſon till after the king's death. The old prieſt, being as contemptible as he was innocent, was ſet at liberty. Lyon, the author of all this miſery, was ſoon after ſeized with remorſe, and confeſſed the falſehood of his accuſation, for which he was baniſhed. A puniſhment as much too ſlight as the other was too ſevere.

A.D. 1537

James did not long continue a widower. When he was in France he had ſeen and admired Mary of Lorrain, daughter of René duke of Guiſe, and widow of the duke of Longueville; and about three months after the death of his queen, he ſent his natural brother, the earl of Moray, and his favourite, David Beaton, (who had lately been made

A.D. 1538. The king's ſecond marriage.

[25] Leſley, p. 446.

A. D. 1538. a cardinal,) to the French court, to demand that lady in marriage. The propoſal was agreeable to the king, the lady, and her family, and the marriage was ſolemnized by proxy January 10th, A. D. 1538 at Paris, in preſence of the whole court. The lord Maxwell was ſent with a fleet to bring home the new queen, who landed at Cryle in Fife in the beginning of June, was conducted to St. Andrews, and there married to the king in perſon by the archbiſhop James Beaton [236]. Several months after this marriage were ſpent in viſiting the principal towns of the kingdom, into which the queen was welcomed, and entertained with pageants, maſkings, and other amuſements uſual in thoſe times; and ſhe rendered herſelf very popular by her affability, and the high ſatisfaction ſhe expreſſed at the manner of her reception [237].

A. D. 1539. Birth of a prince. Scotland at this time enjoyed both external and internal quiet, which in thoſe days was not very common. The pleaſure which this gave, both to the king and his ſubjects, was much increaſed by the birth of a prince at St. Andrews April 10th. The prince at his baptiſm was named James, and proclaimed prince of Scotland and duke of Rotheſay [238]. James Beaton, archbiſhop of St. Andrews, died ſoon after he had performed this ceremony, and was ſucceeded by his nephew cardinal David Beaton, biſhop of Merepoix in France, and abbot of Arbroath in Scotland, the king's great confident and prime miniſter [239].

[236] Buchan. p. 277. Drum. p. 315. [237] Leſly, p. 447, 448.
[238] Leſly, p. 449, 450. [239] Ibid.

Henry

A. D. 1540.

Embaſſy from England.

Henry VIII. was at this time in no little perplexity. The pope had at length publiſhed the dreaded ſentence of excommunication againſt him; exhorting and commanding all Chriſtian princes to make war upon him, as a rebel againſt God and his vicar upon earth[240]. An interview had taken place between the pope, the emperor, and the king of France, at Nice, that gave him great alarm. He knew that many of his own ſubjects were diſcontented, and that cardinal Pole and others fomented thoſe diſcontents. He was anxious, therefore, to diſcover the ſentiments and ſecure the friendſhip of his neareſt relation and neighbour the king of Scots. In order to effect this, he diſpatched ſir Ralph Sadler as his ambaſſador to the court of Scotland; and to procure him a favourable reception, ſent with him a preſent of fine horſes, of which he knew James was exceedingly fond. He was furniſhed alſo with very particular inſtructions; 1. To diſcover how James ſtood affected toward his uncle. 2. Whether he had ſaid, "That whatever the emperor and the "king of France did againſt Henry, he would do "the ſame?" 3. To endeavour to raiſe ſuſpicions in his mind againſt cardinal Beaton. 4. To perſuade him to enrich the crown with the ſpoils of the monaſteries. 5. To prevail upon him to have an interview with his uncle. The ambaſſador was admitted to a private audience in February, ſoon after his arrival; in which he very artfully introduced all the ſubjects in his inſtructions. James

[240] Leſly, p. 449, 450.

A. D. 1540. expreſſed his eſteem and affection for his uncle the king of England, and his deſire to cultivate his friendſhip in very ſtrong terms. He denied, with many oaths, that he had ever uſed the expreſſions imputed to him, and declared he was not to be influenced by the perſuaſions or example of other princes. But when the ambaſſador introduced the ſubject of cardinal Beaton, he found his confidence and attachment to him was too ſtrong to be ſhaken, and was glad to change the converſation. He was equally inflexible as to the monaſteries. They were ancient eſtabliſhments, he ſaid, for the worſhip of God; that it was unjuſt to puniſh the whole, for the faults of a few; that he would do nothing contrary to his conſcience, to pleaſe any man; and that he was under no neceſſity to ſeize their revenues, becauſe they were always ready to give him whatever he demanded of them. He expreſſed no averſion to an interview with his uncle, but propoſed that the king of France ſhould alſo be preſent. When the ambaſſador repreſented the inconveniency with which that would be attended, he put an end to the converſation, by ſaying he would talk with him more fully on that ſubject at another time. The ambaſſador had an audience of the king when he took his leave, in which, it is probable, the ſubject of the interview was diſcuſſed and ſettled [241].

The queen was delivered of a prince at Stirling in the ſummer, who was named Arthur, but died on the eighth day after his birth. On the ſame

[241] Sadler's Letters, p. 1—64.

day

day his elder brother, prince James, died at St. Andrews. The king's mind received ſo voilent a ſhock by the loſs of his two only ſons in one day, that he never recovered his former cheerfulneſs, and ſometimes ſunk into deep dejection. To divert his melancholy, the court made a progreſs into the north after the queen's recovery. They were attended by the noblemen and gentlemen of the country through which they paſſed, and entertained in the moſt reſpectful and affectionate manner. At Aberdeen they ſpent fifteen days; and the city, the univerſity, and the clergy, made the greateſt efforts to procure them a variety of amuſements. They ſpent ſome days at Dundee and Falkland, and then returned to Edinburgh [242]. A.D. 1540.

A conſtant intercourſe was kept up during all this year between the two Britiſh courts, for regulating the time, place, and other circumſtances of the intended interview; and Henry afterwards complained that he had been ſhamefully impoſed upon by the fair ſpeeches of the Scots ambaſſadors, and the friendly affectionate ſtrain of king James's letters [243]. Upon the whole, there ſeems to be ſufficient evidence, that king James had actually agreed and promiſed to meet his uncle at York, and that he really intended to do it, though he was afterwards prevailed upon to change his mind. Interview agreed upon.

A parliament met at Edinburgh December 3d this year, in which the revocation that had been made by the king at Rouen was ratified and confirmed; and all the great eſtates of the Douglaſſes Parliament.

[242] Lefly, p. 451. [243] Hollingſh. p. 323.

A. D. 1540. and of all who had followed their fortunes, were annexed to the crown[244]. Beſide theſe, the iſles of Orkney and Shetland, ſeveral of the weſtern iſles, the earldom of Bothwell, the lordſhips of Glamis and Avondale, and many other eſtates, were alſo annexed to the crown by the ſame parliament. This was probably done by the ſuperior influence of the clergy in the parliaments of thoſe times, to ſave their own poſſeſſions, and to gratify the king's rapacity, (which was become very great,) at the expence of the laity.

A. D. 1541. Intrigues. The court of Scotland was at that time full of factions and intrigues about the approaching interview with the king of England. The nobility in general, and more particularly ſuch of them as ſecretly favoured the reformation of the church, (which were not a few,) and hated the clergy for their pride and cruelty, and envied them for their wealth, wiſhed for the interview, and endeavoured to perſuade the king to keep his appointment with his uncle, by repreſenting how much a good underſtanding between them would redound to his own advantage, and to the peace and proſperity of both kingdoms. On the other hand, there was nothing the clergy dreaded ſo much as this interview with an excommunicated heretic, who had renounced the authority of the pope, demoliſhed the monaſteries, and laid his unhallowed hands on the ſacred patrimony of the church; eſpecially as they well knew that Henry had ſolicited this interview ſecretly, in order to perſuade his nephew to

[244] Black Acts, James V. f. 77, &c.

imitate

imitate his example; they endeavoured therefore A. D. 1541.
by every poſſible means to diſſuade and deter James from keeping the appointment: they repreſented to him the extreme danger of venturing his perſon ſo far into the dominions of a prince ſo powerful and ambitious as Henry; and did not neglect to put him in mind of the diſhonourable detention and long impriſonment of his anceſtor James I., and to deſire him to reflect, that this interview might endanger his ſalvation as well as his liberty, by infecting him with the infernal poiſon of hereſy, and expoſe him to the dreadful ſentence of excommunication. Theſe arguments were well adapted to influence a prince who was abundantly ſuperſtitious, and knew nothing of the controverſy. But they uſed a ſtill more powerful argument, which they knew he could not reſiſt: they promiſed to advance a great ſum of money immediately, to add fifty thouſand crowns a year to his revenue, and that if a war enſued, they would ſupport him with all their wealth. Theſe promiſes turned the ſcale, and James reſolved not to attend the interview [245].

Interview prevented.

As Henry knew nothing of this reſolution, he directed great preparations to be made at York for the entertainment of the king of Scotland, and came to that city in Auguſt with a numerous and ſplendid retinue. After waiting ſome days, a meſſenger arrived with letters from James, containing the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of reſpect and affection to his uncle, but excuſing himſelf from attending the interview, becauſe he was engaged in ſome affair

[245] Herbert, p. 327. Leſly, p. 453—454. Buchan. p. 278.

of

A. D. 1541. of importance, which made it improper for him to leave his kingdom, and that he would ſoon ſend an ambaſſador to explain his reaſons more fully. Henry, who was naturally proud and paſſionate, was exceedingly enraged at this affront. His anger was much inflamed by the intelligence he ſoon after received, that a party of Scots had made an incurſion into Northumberland, and plundered the country. He determined therefore to be revenged on the king and kingdom of Scotland, for the inſults he had received. But on his arrival at Weſtminſter in September, the diſcovory of the incontinence of his beloved queen Catherine Howard, engaged his whole attention for a conſiderable time, and diverted him from proſecuting this revenge againſt Scotland [246].

A. D. 1542. Though king James had been prevailed upon not to attend the interview at York, he wiſhed to avoid a war if poſſible. With this view he ſent ambaſſadors to the court of England in December 1541, to ſooth and appeaſe the reſentment of his highly-offended uncle. Theſe ambaſſadors (Henry ſays) "gave him good words, ſweet words, plea-
" ſant words, not only to excuſe what was paſt,
" but alſo to perſuade kindneſs and perfect amity
" to [247]." They ſo far ſucceeded, that they prevailed upon Henry to appoint commiſſioners to meet with thoſe of Scotland upon the borders, to [illegible] diſputes. The commiſſioners of both [illegible]ordingly met but they could come to [illegible]t about a certain diſtrict of no great

[246] Hollingſh. p. 323. [247] Ibid.

extent

extent or value on the border, to which each country claimed a right. They ſeparated, however, in a friendly manner, and the wardens on both ſides iſſued their orders for preſerving peace [248]. A.D. 1542.

As the borderers knew that there was a miſunderſtanding between the two kings, they paid little or no regard to theſe orders. A conſiderable body of Scots entered England July 4th, and committed great depredations. King James, ſtill wiſhing to prevent a war, diſpatched ſir James Learmont of Dearſay to the court of England, to apologiſe for this outrage, and offer reparation of all injuries that had been done. But while the ambaſſador was ſoothing Henry with promiſes of the moſt ample reparation, and the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of future peace, the Scots borderers made another incurſion into England, no leſs deſtructive than the former. Henry's patience was now exhauſted. He ſent a fleet into the Forth, which captured twenty-eight merchant ſhips; and he commanded ſir Robert Bowes, captain of Norham caſtle, and warden of the eaſt marches, to invade Scotland with all the forces he could raiſe to retaliate the late injuries. Sir Robert, accompanied by the earl of Angus, his brother ſir George Douglas, the gentlemen of Northumberland and Durham, with their followers, entered Tiviotdale, deſigning to deſtroy the towns of Jedburgh and Kelſo; but they were encountered at Hadden-rig Auguſt 24th, and, after a ſharp conflict, totally defeated by the earl of Huntley and lord Hume: ſir Robert Bowes, and War.

[248] Holling h. p. 323.

his

A. D. 1541. his brother ſir John Withrington, ſir Ralph Ivers, ſir Brian Latoun, Mr. Heron, and about two hundred other gentlemen, were made priſoners [249].

Negotiations. Henry, irritated at this defeat, and ſtill more at the refuſal of the Scots to ranſom their priſoners, commanded the Duke of Norfolk at the head of a great army, attended by the earls of Shrewſbury, Derby, Cumberland, Rutland, Angus, and Surry, to march into Scotland, and take a ſevere revenge for all the injuries he had received. James, not yet prepared to reſiſt ſo great a force, tried to divert the ſtorm, by ſending the lord Erſkine, and ſome other commiſſioners, to negociate a peace or truce, or at leaſt to gain a little time. They met the Engliſh army at York; and Henry, after all that had happened, gave a commiſſion to the duke of Norfolk, the lord privy ſeal, and the biſhop of Durham, to treat with them. Henry, notwithſtanding his expenſive preparations for war, ſeems to have wiſhed for peace, and to have deſired to gain, rather than to diſtreſs, his nephew. The conduct of the Scots commiſſioners makes it probable that their deſire of peace was not ſo ſtrong as they pretended. They profeſs that they came with a deſign to ſettle all the preliminaries of an interview between the two monarchs; but when they produced their commiſſion, it was found that they had no power to treat of an interview. They then aſked ſix days to procure a more ample commiſſion, which was granted: but when the new commiſſion arrived, it gave them power to agree to an inter-

[249] Buchan. p. 323. Lelly, p. 456. Buchan. p. 279.

view,

view, but fixed the time, place, and the other circumſtances of the meeting, without a power to depart from one article. The Engliſh commiſſioners obſerving that this was not to treat but to dictate, the Scots requeſted time to procure more unlimited powers. This third commiſſion was unexceptionable; but it was accompanied with inſtructions not to recede from one article in their former commiſſion. When the Engliſh diſcovered this, they put an end to the conferences in which they had loſt ſo much time[250]. A. D. 1542.

Francis I. who was at this time at variance with Henry VIII. ſent an ambaſſador to king James, with a ſupply of military ſtores, and aſſurances of effectual ſupport in a war with England. Encouraged by theſe aſſurances, and his late ſucceſs at Hadden-rig, and ſpirited up by his clergy, he reſolved on war, and ſummoned his nobles and barons to a rendezvous at Falamuir, with all their followers in arms, to repel the Engliſh, who intended to invade the kingdom[251].

As ſoon as the conferences at York broke up, Henry commanded the duke of Norfolk to proceed with his army to the invaſion of Scotland; and at the ſame time publiſhed a very long manifeſto of the reaſons of the war. In the firſt part of this curious publication, he magnifies his own great humanity and tenderneſs in not cruſhing his nephew in his infancy, and conquering his kingdom, when it was in ſuch confuſion that it could have made little reſiſtance. He then diſplays in ſtrong colours Manifeſto.

[250] Hollingſh. p. 324. [251] Leſly, p. 456.

James's

A. D. 1542. James's ingratitude for this extraordinary kindneſs, his receiving Engliſh rebels, his refuſing to ranſom Engliſh priſoners, his defeating an Engliſh army that had been ſent to plunder his country, his refuſing to reſign a certain diſtrict on the borders, his permitting his ſubjects to make incurſions into England, and his breach of faith in not attending the interview at York. In the laſt part he inſiſts at great length on the ſuperiority of the kings of England over the kingdom of Scotland, which he derives from his illuſtrious predeceſſor Brute the Trojan. He concludes with a declaration, that he did not make war to eſtabliſh that ſuperiority, but to puniſh the ingratitude and unkindneſs of his nephew king James, in whoſe veins the royal blood of England was chilled by the cold air of Scotland[252].

Invaſion. The duke of Norfolk had been ſo long detained with his army at York, that they did not enter Scotland till October 1ſt, or penetrate above two miles into the country. The people had removed their cattle and corn from the borders; and the earl of Huntley, the lord Hume, and other chieftains hovering about them, prevented their foragings, and haraſſed them by frequent ſkirmiſhes. The duke, conſidering that the ſeaſon was too far advanced, the enemy too well prepared, and that provisions were becoming ſcarce, repaſſed the Tweed in a few days, with no little precipitation, and conſiderable loſs of men and horſes[253].

[252] Hollingſh. p. 322—328. [253] Leſly, p. 457.

King James, who lay at this time in Etrick foreſt with an army of thirty thouſand men, called a council of war, and propoſed to purſue the enemy, and invade England; on which he left them to deliberate. But the members of the council were almoſt unanimous in their oppoſition to this propoſal, the deplorable diſaſter of Flodden-field being ſtill freſh in their memories. They repreſented therefore to the king, by their general the earl of Moray, his natural brother, that he had done enough for his own honour, and the protection of his ſubjects, by compelling the enemy to retire, without having done any miſchief; that though they had retired, they had not diſbanded, and would ſoon be reinforced; that the ſeaſon of the year was too far advanced; that it would be exceedingly imprudent to expoſe his royal perſon to danger, when he had no iſſue to ſucceed him; and finally, they put him in mind of the untimely fate of his heroic father on a ſimilar occaſion. This remonſtrance threw James into a moſt violent rage and perturbation. He exclaimed againſt his nobles as traitors and poltroons, and threatened them with the ſevereſt vengeance, declaring that he would execute what they had not the courage to attempt[254]. The army diſbanded and the king returned to Edinburgh. A.D 1542.

James did not remain long at Edinburgh. The lord Maxwell, a brave and loyal nobleman, warden of the weſt marches, deſirous of diſſipating the chagrin and appeaſing the anger of his ſovereign, Expedition.

[254] Buchan. and Leſly, ibid. Drummond, p. 341.

propoſed

A. D. 1542. propoſed to make an attempt upon Cumberland, if a competent force could be collected with ſecrecy and expedition. Cardinal Beaton and the clergy (who were the real authors and fomenters of this war) exerted themſelves with great diligence, by ſending meſſengers and writing letters to their dependants and friends, to go immediately with their followers in arms into Annandale, where they would be informed of the ſervice in which they were to be employed. Several noblemen engaged in this expedition, and an army of ten thouſand men was aſſembled with great ſecrecy in a very ſhort time. The king rode privately with a few attendants to Lochmaben, where the troops rendezvouſed: from thence they marched (with a train of artillery for beſieging Carliſle) towards England.

The ſudden unexpected approach of ſo great an army, cauſed a prodigious alarm in Cumberland. The warden lord Wharton, and the gentlemen of the country, immediately flew to arms, and with about five hundred horſe advanced to the banks of the Eſk, to retard the paſſage of the enemy, and give time to their country to arm; but when they reached the riſing grounds above Netherby, and had a full view of the Scots army, they obſerved that all was in confuſion and diſorder, and ſaw great bodies of men retiring, or rather flying diſ- ways. This ſtrange appearance was owing to the following cauſe:—The clergy, and particu- Cardinal Beaton, had inſpired king James (who was naturally of a ſuſpicious temper) with a violent

violent jealousy of and animosity against his nobility, as secret favourers of heresy, and friends to England. This animosity was greatly inflamed by their late refusal to invade that kingdom. Though he permitted therefore the lord Maxwell, who had planned this expedition, to conduct the army to the border, he secretly gave a commission to Oliver Sinclair, one of his most hated minions, to be general and commander in chief as soon as they entered England. Oliver, proud of his elevation, when the army was preparing to pass the Esk, November 25th, produced his commission, and caused himself to be raised on the shoulders of two tall men and proclaimed general. It is impossible to conceive the consternation and confusion this produced. The noblemen and principal gentlemen resolved to give themselves up prisoners to the English, rather than fight under the banner of such a contemptible leader, or expose themselves to the fury of their infatuated sovereign. The common people, seeing all subordination at an end, went off in companies, and returned to their own homes. The English, perceiving the disorder of their enemies increasing, and their army disbanding, passed the river, and made as many prisoners as they pleased, without losing or drawing one drop of blood. Among the prisoners were, two earls, Cassillis and Glencairn; five lords, Maxwell, Somerville, Gray, Oliphant, and Fleming; with the master of Evskine, Oliver Sinclair, and about two hundred other gentlemen.

A. D. 1542.

A. D. 1542. The news of this moſt diſgraceful affair threw king James into a perturbation and depreſſion of ſpirits, from which he never recovered. Next day he returned to Edinburgh, from whence he went to Falkland, where, excluding all company except a few of his favourite domeſtics, through want of ſleep and anguiſh of mind he was ſoon confined to his bed. When in this condition, the news arrived that his queen was delivered of a princeſs at Linlithgow. But this gave him no comfort. "The Engliſh," ſaid he, "will either "conquer the kingdom in her minority, or will "acquire it by marriage." After languiſhing a few days longer, he expired December 13th, A. D. 1542, in the thirty-firſt year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign[a].

[a] Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, tom. ii. p. 157.

END OF THE ELEVENTH VOLUME.

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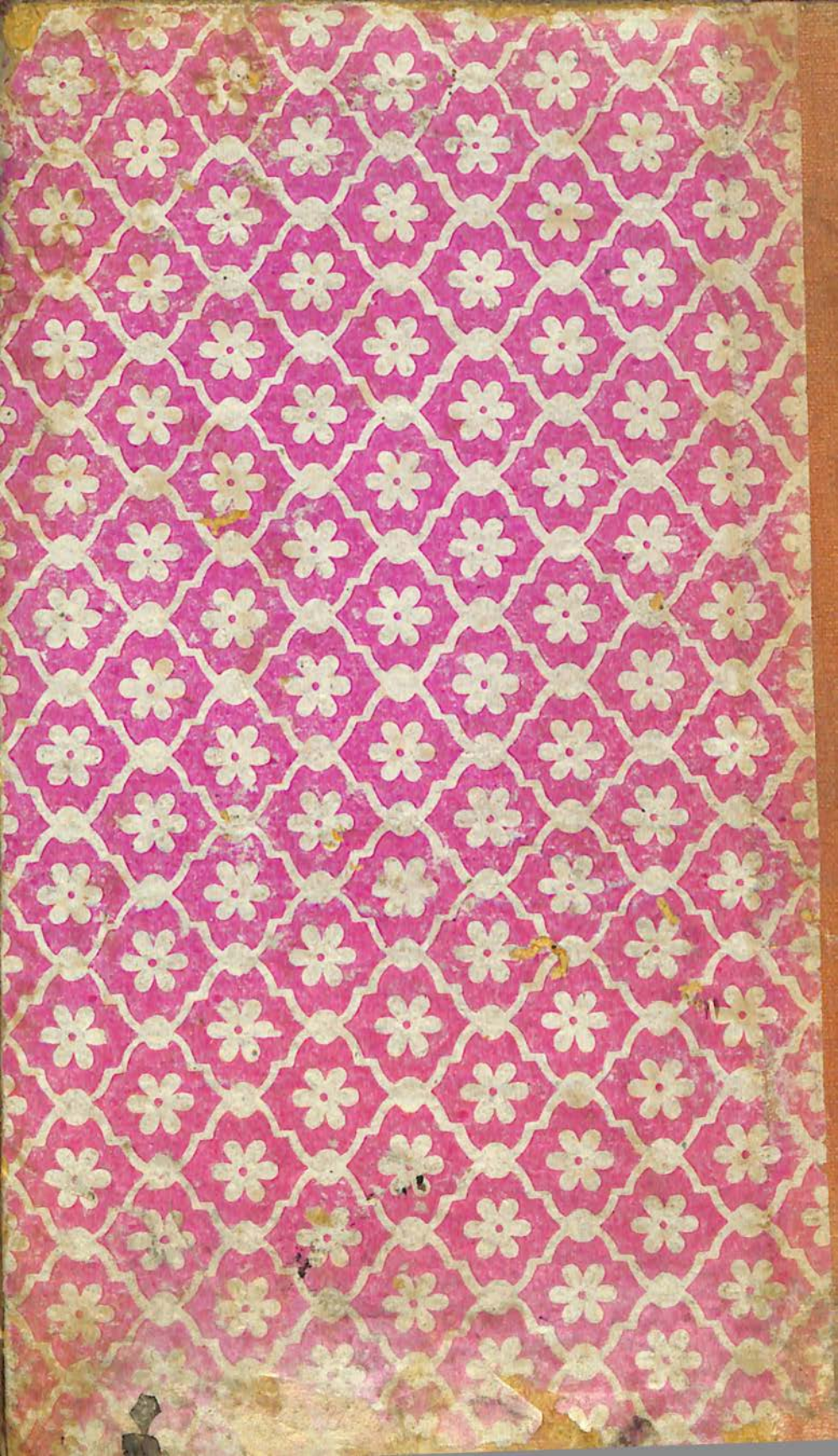
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